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Western Reports on Prague Protests Questioned

LD2208223788 Prague International Service in English 1900 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] The 20th anniversary of the internationalist assistance granted to the Czechoslovak people by the fraternal socialist countries in 1968 was awaited eagerly by some Western political circles and the mass media serving them. Sometimes attempts to intervene in Czechoslovakia's internal affairs were noticed. For example, the Voice of America's Czech service broadcast instructions how to organize demonstrations. Obviously, it was no cheap affair for the organizers of the anti-Czechoslovak campaign, which culminated on Sunday. In the city center, the famous Prague Wenceslas Square, with the famous statue in the upper part of this biggest of Prague's squares, several hundred people gathered, inspired by about 150 organizers. The square is a popular place for afternoon strolls and it was full of tourists at that time. Some of them stopped to watch what was going on. Many of them were from Italy, but even those, seeing no sensational development, packed up their cameras and off they went. TV cameramen from some Western media were on the spot too, showing enormous activity, but they too must have been disappointed by the low turn-up at Wenceslas Square.

One English-speaking interviewee put it (?for all): I wonder why there are so few people here, he told a U.S. TV crew. In the evening, the organizers of the demonstration changed their tactics and set off for a march through the city center. Some 4,000 people joined in, as opposed to REUTER's report about 10,000 ralliers. By the way, the same agency says that flowers were laid in front of the Czechoslovak radio headquarters. Those of us who were here working, however, didn't notice any such commemorative act. Meanwhile, the crowd went through several streets and then dispersed at about 10 pm. REUTER, however, reports that the police attacked the crowd with the help of truncheons and dogs showing their teeth, all this in clouds of tear gas, says REUTER. No other Western news agency reports anything like that. The Yugoslav TANJUG says the security forces showed maximum restraint, despite some outbreaks of violence on the part of the rallying people; 77 of them were detained, but released almost immediately. As it came out, the organizers of the rally failed to gain support from the population, and in most cases also from the foreign tourists, some of whom might have come to Prague at this time of the year in order to witness something extraordinary.

'Continuous Illegal Strikes' in Poland Viewed

LD2208211788 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] In some coal mines in Katowice Voivodship, and in the port and transport enterprises in Szczeczin, illegal strikes are continuing. Pavel Kopecky, our permanent correspondent in the PPR, informs us:

[Kopecky] The situation is getting continuously worse in the shafts, in which overall approximately 11,000 people are on strike. That is 8 to 12 percent of the entire staff. Self-appointed strike committees are putting forward unrealistic economic and political demands, among others the renewal of the activity of the former co-called Solidarity. They refuse to hold talks with shaft management, because they have no opportunity to consult with their advisers, the leaders of the banned trade union structures. Furthermore, they terrorize those miners who do not want to go on striking.

The continuous illegal strikes and the danger of their possible spread to other enterprises—a number of such attempts have been made today—are becoming a cause for concern of the Polish general public, which still remembers well the economic damage caused by the wave of strikes at the beginning of the 1980's. Losses caused by the current illegal strikes are growing from day to day. A result of practically 1 week's interruption of extraction in 10 coal mines is a deficit in the state coal balance of a quarter million tonnes of bituminous coal, a loss of almost 4 billion zlotys and several million dollars. The interruption of transshipping in the Szczeczin Port results in the loss of 100 million zlotys daily, violates the smooth supply of the Polish national economy with necessary materials, and jeopardizes and causes delays in the transit of Czechoslovak goods, which now must be done in Rostock or Hamburg, instead of Szczeczin.

Political commentators in Poland also point out that the current disturbances violate the trustworthiness of Poland in the eyes of its foreign partners.

All Polish dailies today carry a statement by the Executive Committee of the All-Poland Trade Union Council. It contains a criticism of the government for its social and economic policy which, trade unionists claim, is the cause of Polish working people's dissatisfaction. It appeals for the convening of an extraordinary session of the Sejm of the PPR to assess the current political and economic situation in the country.

A government press office statement today says that the government accepts the criticism of trade unions to a considerable extent. At the same time, it expresses readiness to enter into specific talks with the National Trade Union Accord on measures in the interests of the working people and economic reform.

'68 Reforms Not Wrong, Just Rash, Spokesman Says

AU2208163088 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 20-21 Aug 88 p 2
[Michael Frank article on an interview with CSSR Government Spokesman Pavel: "Reform Course of 1968 Was Basically Correct"]

[Text] Prague, 19 August—The CSSR leadership received with obvious relief Moscow's statement that it is not considering reassessing the events of 21 August

1968, when Soviet, GDR, Polish, Hungarian, and Bulgarian troops put an end to the reform movement of "Prague Spring" with their forceful invasion. On Tuesday [16 August], Moscow Foreign Ministry Spokesman Genadiy Gerasimov made a statement to that effect in THE WASHINGTON POST. Because of this statement, the Prague party leadership for the time being will not be forced to rewrite "Lessons From the Years of Crisis," its old main document condemning the reformers associated with Alexander Dubcek.

On Friday [19 August], CSSR Government Spokesman Miroslav Pavel, in an interview with this daily, stated in this context that a new assessment, a new interpretation, or a special recognition of the 1968 events are of no special importance to Prague at the moment: "Even if it were politically naive to claim that nobody takes any interest in these events any longer, the CSSR Government today is interested in what will happen in 20 years' time, rather than what happened 20 years ago." In order to stimulate the reform process in the CSSR, there are plans to anticipate the next official CPCZ congress, not due until 1991.

Government Spokesman Pavel puts the 1968 reform movement on the same level with other movements of this kind, the "fourth of which we are about to initiate at the moment." The basically correct reform projects of that time failed because of the inability of the then party chief Alexander Dubcek and his assistants to rightly assess the domestic and foreign policy risks. Pavel did not want to make more detailed comments as to why it took such a long time until the right approaches were taken up again or were further pursued. As far as the economy is concerned, he reaffirmed the government's view that a centrally planned economy has never been a suitable recipe for the CSSR . In the course of the first reform wave of 1957-58, initial attempts were made to abolish or at least tone down central planning. It is rather tragic that the CSSR leadership has always aspired to more than it could actually achieve. That is why it is now necessary to proceed with special caution and accuracy, he said.

As to the imbalance between economic and sociopolitical reform projects in the CSSR, Pavel said the problem is that nobody, "neither Gorbachev, nor the Poles nor the Prague leadership" has any complete plans at hand for reshaping the economy and society. Since the CSSR, as a traditional and old industrial nation, has more experience in the economic sector, it advances in this field. In politics, too, the aims are known, but nobody can say for sure whether the plans to achieve these aims can always be implemented without difficulties, he said.

Pavel admitted that the population is taking a wait-and-see attitude toward the reform projects, or even views them with indifference or distrust. "Reforms always create uncertainty for the individual," he declared, "and to me this somewhat reserved attitude is quite human." However, he could not deny either that such reservations might be furthered by the lack of recognizable parallelism of economic and political reforms so far. Pavel stressed that "what one fills his stomach with every day" is not the only criterion for a functioning consumer society or an adequate standard of living. Under socialist conditions, the CSSR actually enjoys a very high standard of living. This is not enough, however, for real standard of living must also be judged by ecological questions—whether the water and nature are OK—and by "concrete opportunities for travel." Moreover, it is indispensable to give the people the appropriate space for their development as a component of the standard of living, which also includes comparisons with other countries. The CSSR has taken the term socialist pluralism as the measure for its actions.

In this context, Pavel defended party chief Milos Jakes against the charge from the West that he is "the last Stalinist." It was he who took the initiative for creating better travel opportunities and who is about to push through a limitation to two terms of office for all political cadres, Pavel said.

Pavel does not expect any actions, protests, or rallies for the coming weekend of commemoration: "Knowing the CSSR society as I do, I am convinced that nothing will happen." It is typical that the only demonstration which has become known so far was staged by foreigners, namely, by members of the Italian Radical Party. Considering the presence of almost 500 foreign journalists and 15 television teams from all over the world, he said he could well imagine "that they might start organizing something themselves in order to have something to report." Regarding demands for the rehabilitation of the former party chief and reformer Alexander Dubcek, the government spokesman said: "I understand Mr Dubcek from a human point of view. Even today he is trying to justify his policy in retrospect; this is the politicians' fate, anyway." To show how unconcerned the government is about the anniversary, he pointed out that it ostentatiously will only resume work next Monday after the summer recess.

Vaclav Havel Interviewed on Invasion Anniversary

LD2308101488 Paris LIBERATION in French 20-21 Aug 88 p 5

[Interview with Vaclav Havel, Czechoslovak Charter 77 founding member, by Veronique Soule in Hradacek—date not given]

[Text] "The Czechoslovak leadership installed after the Soviet invasion," Vaclav Havel said, "identified with the Brezhnev era. For 20 years it persecuted people who advocated reforms or thought for themselves. It is now talking of glasnost and restructuring. But it is unwilling and unable to really change. Its own identity is at stake."

LIBERATION: However, there is a more relaxed attitude in the cultural sphere.

Vaclav Havel: The situation has improved a little compared with what it was a few years ago. But this is not the result of a more liberal cultural policy. It is more the result of pressure from the grass roots, a gradual and natural easing of tension in the atmosphere, and the courage of some creative artists.

LIBERATION: Can you see the emergence of a new Gorbachevian generation?

Vaclav Havel: No. For 20 years the system excluded all those who wanted to think for themselves. It has trained cynical and opportunist people as successors. The young people now climbing the ladder are probably more dangerous than their elders. They have only known this style of government.

LIBERATION: So, unless there is a change of government, there is no hope of change?

Vaclav Havel: It is more complicated than that. Totalitarianism prevents any open political life. But we know from experience that the situation can change suddenly. It is difficult to predict what will happen and who could play a role. Ten years ago, nobody could have imagined the spread of political clubs in the USSR. It was all invisible. Society here is ready for change. But nobody knows when, who, or how....

LIBERATION: People often say "nothing is happening."

Vaclav Havel: This is more a philosophical than a political problem. In a post-totalitarian world, people feel that nothing is happening, because there seems to be nothing to report. This is a false impression. There was a major religious demonstration in Bratislava last February. Nobody could have forecast it.

LIBERATION: There is also a feeling that the population has found refuge in private life.

Vaclav Havel: Official policy was based on this idea: If the population is publicly loyal, it can enjoy material advantages. Many people accepted that. They reject politics and devote themselves to gardening. The ideology of skepticism and nihilism has spread widely.

LIBERATION: Repression of Charter 77 seems to have lessened.

Vaclav Havel: The attitude is still the same, but the methods have changed. We were in prison, we are now out of prison. But the press still condemns us as agents of imperialism. In these days of "democratization" this attitude has been strengthened and there are a growing number of articles against us. I see two reasons for that. First, it is because of the series of anniversaries which occur this year (Footnote) (The foundation of the Czechoslovak Republic in October 1918, the Munich agreements in September 1938, the Prague takeover in February 1948, and the intervention in August 1968). Second, Jakes needs to reaffirm the old ideology to ensure that other leaders, who are inclined to hesitate, do not think that this is the right time to delay. Jakes represents 20 August 1968. Our leaders are slaves of their own making.

LIBERATION: The Czechoslovak party rejects any comparison between the Prague Spring and the "new direction." What is your view?

Vaclav Havel: It is logical to make comparisons. But there are differences. The main one lies in the fact that the process here in 1968 was the result of pressure from the grass roots, whereas in the USSR it is being inspired by the leadership. Gorbachev is asking society to liberate itself and society is having to adapt to these new ideals. In Czechoslovakia, it was the population which asked Dubcek for more freedom.

The programs are very similar. And that is not because Gorbachev is a disciple of Dubcek but because there is no alternative. All those who have tried to reform the system in East Europe have aimed to solve the same problems by the same means: more freedom, press freedom, a greater role for the market, and less repression.

LIBERATION: What do you think of Gorbachev?

Vaclav Havel: I see two limitations to his action. The first is subjective: Gorbachev is a true communist, who believes in the one-party system; at the same time, he is calling for democratization and pluralism. This is a paradox which he cannot see. The second objective limitation is more serious: How can bureaucracy and society as a whole be inspired to change? It will be interesting to see to what extent Gorbachev avoids the mistakes made by Dubcek or Khrushchev.

But the essential thing for us is still what we can do. We must not wait for help from outside. We know what that can lead to. Gorbachev's visit last year, which raised excessive hopes, was a good lesson. We cannot expect help from Gorbachev.

LIBERATION: Is the bitterness left by 1968 not producing excessive pessimism?

Vaclav Havel: Some people maintain a picture of those marvellous days. However, in my case, that is not the only period of my life which has meaning. I am not a prisoner of those memories. But nothing can change here unless this question is solved. This does not just apply to the people who were involved at the time, but to the entire population. The invasion, and the moral and spiritual destruction which followed, had repercussions

on the whole of society. It is impossible to return to 1968, but it is equally impossible to make changes without a serious analysis of the events.

LIBERATION: Can you conceive of a reappraisal of the Prague Spring?

Vaclav Havel: A reassessment of that period and rehabilitations will not come from the Soviet Union. It is a question of solidarity with the Czechoslovak leadership. Gorbachev has no other choice. He does not want to destabilize the situation here. He needs Jakes and Husak, although he realizes how conservative they are. The debate may have opened in the Soviet press. But I see no signs of change here. The present leadership cannot change. That would be suicidal.

Government Discusses Anonymous Complaints

LD2308091888 Prague CTK in English
1811 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] Prague Aug 22 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Government dealt at its plenary session here today with anonymous complaints of Czechoslovak citizens.

In 1982-1987 the number of complaints and announcements increased by 13 percent, the number of anonymous letters by 41 percent. The number of all complaints and announcements decreased slightly in 1982-83. Since 1984 their number went up considerably. The share of anonymous complaints has been moderately but continuously increasing since 1982. This development has direct connections with the shortcomings and negative phenomena in the national economy and the development of society.

The majority of anonymous announcements signalize serious shortcomings, negative phenomena and antisocial activities in various bodies and organizations. Approximately each third anonymous announcement is justified.

The government decided not to deal with anonymous complaints and announcements which do not include concrete data about the violation of laws and norms, misuse of position and function and further shortcomings in the activity of organizations or individuals.

The government also dealt with a report on the course and results of the official friendly visit of member of the CPSU Politburo and Soviet Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov to Czechoslovakia and a report on the results of the 28th session of the inter-governmental Czechoslovak-Soviet Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation. It approved the proposal for concluding a consular convention between Czechoslovakia and China and a treaty of friendship and cooperation with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

CPCZ Presidium Discusses National Committees

LD1908145188 Prague CTK in English
1418 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] Prague Aug 19 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium discussed today the role of national committees in the development of socialist democracy and their tasks in the comprehensive restructuring of the economic mechanism.

Assessing the fulfilment of the conclusions of a 1982 session of party Central Committee concerning the activity of national committees, the Presidium noted some improvement in their work. Services have been somewhat expanded, the state administration has come closer to citizens and the look of a number of towns and villages has improved. But no essential turn has come in increasing the social role of national committees in the management of comprehensive development of their districts, in the development of services and amenities. Several powers have been passed to national committees, but they could not use them effectively because they lacked the necessary, especially economic prerequisites. This problem will have to be solved.

The Presidium also approved a proposal of the composition of a party Central Committee commision to elaborate a program of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the schedule of the commission's work. The proposal will go to the next session of the party Central Committee.

Husak Congratulates SRV Counterpart

AU1608162888 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
11 Aug 88 p 1

[CTK report in the "Receptions, Talks, Telegrams, Letters" column]

[Text] Prague— CSSR President Gustav Husak has sent to Vo Chi Cong, chairman of the SRV Council of State, a congratulatory telegram on the occasion of the latter's 75th birthday.

Party Official Received in Beijing

AU1908133888 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
18 Aug 88 p 7

[Unattributed report in the "24 Hours Abroad" column]

[Text] Miroslav Stepan, CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat member and leading secretary of the CPCZ's Prague City Committee, discussed the development of Prague-Beijing relations with Su Weicheng, deputy secretary of the CPC's Beijing Committee, in China's capital on Wednesday [13 August].

National Day Greetings Sent to Romania
LD2208172088 Budapest MTI in English 1625 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 22 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Bruno F. Straub, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, sent a telegram of greetings to Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania, on the occasion of the 44th anniversary of the liberation of Romania. Istvan Stadinger, speaker of parliament, sent a telegram of greetings to Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly.

Prague Rally, General Situation Discussed
LD2208231288 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Excerpts] [Unidentified announcer] Demonstrators in Prague, among other things, demanded the rehabilitation of Alexander Dubcek, ex-party leader. How realistic is such a demand today? I asked Evelin Forro, our Prague correspondent, who is now in Budapest, about this.

[Forro] [Passage omitted] It was very interesting recently when Soviet Premier Ryzhkov was in Prague and this question came up at a news conference. The reporter from the Italian news agency asked him this, and he replied that this was an internal affair of the Czechoslovaks. The Soviet Union does not wish to concern itself with this. A sharp debate then resulted with the BBC correspondent saying very forcefully and sharply to Ryzhkov: Is this really an internal affair? In 1968 Soviet tanks were in the streets of Prague. Why was this not an internal affair then? Ryzhkov said, as we know, that the socialist countries gave international help.

Now, another thing: In Prague it can be heard more and more, not officially, that certain people wish to make public the letter that was sent to the Soviet Union at the time, as well as the names of those who signed this letter asking for help.

[Announcer] In Czechoslovakia, demonstrations, including the one over the weekend, are mainly organized by the dissident group Charter 77. What masses does this movement mobilize and what influence does it now have in Czechoslovakia?

[Forro] I cannot say precisely what influence Charter 77 has. In the nearly 1 year that I have been in Prague, there have not been many demonstrations. The interesting thing is that everyone was dispersed. Now here, at the Sunday demonstration, it is worth noting that for a long time they allowed this demonstration to go on. It was only when there was provocation that the police intervened.

Settlement Demonstration Held at Romanian Embassy
LD2308104788 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0500 GMT 23 Aug

[Text] Yesterday evening a peaceful demonstration began in front of Romania's Budapest embassy. The demonstration is still continuing. Zsolt Bocskai reports from the scene:

[Rocskai] Eight to 10 young Hungarians initiated the action last night in front of the Romanian Embassy in Budapest. They are demanding a settlement of the worsening Hungarian-Romanian relationship and a halt to the implementation of the territorial settlement scheme in Romania. They are making this demand by peaceful means. Yesterday morning they took a letter containing their demands to the Romanian Embassy.

They are also holding a peaceful demonstration on Thoekoely Street. They intend to ensure the continuity of the protest by creating three shifts, replacing each other every 6 hours. The Conscience 88 group was joined by the organizers of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, members of the Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Friendship Society and Source Circle, and the spokesman body of the Democratic Federation of Hungarian Youth.

According to plans, the Hungarian demonstrators will also be joined by the Free Romania group. They are Romanian refugees who formed their group in Budapest this January. Their 24-hour protest and symbolic hunger strike are being held exactly on Romania's national day. I note here that despite the holiday, the Romanian flag is not flying over the embassy.

Romanian Village Settlement Plans Deplored
AU2308091688 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 20 Aug 88 p 5

[Article by Pal Bodor: "From Csomakoros to Kisbacon...."]

[Text] Some 228 inhabitants of Zsere, a small Szekler village near Zobor in the Nyitra District of Slovakia, signed a letter of protest against the settlement reorganization plans in Romania. Therefore, there is also a socially conscious Szekler community which takes a stand upon hearing the threatening news, not only to defend Szeklers and Hungarians, but to defend all men. I am quoting from the concluding lines of this protest letter: "We raise our voice as Szeklers for Szeklers, as Hungarians for Hungarians, as men for men."

I have here another letter in the Hungarian and Slovak language signed by 19 people, mostly Slovaks from Nyitra in the CSSR: the Romanian plan, and the subsequent events "represent not only a total violation of fundamental human rights, but also an offense against the 1,000-year-old minority folklore and against Christian ethics as well."

Meanwhile, further disturbing news is reaching us from Romania. Unfortunately, there is no way of thoroughly verifying its accuracy. Someone sends a desperate message: On the list of villages slated for destruction in Kovaszna County, he saw the name Csomakoros, the birthplace of Sandor Korosi Csoma [well-known Hungarian orientalist]; Elek Benedek's birthplace Kisbacon; and Szarazajta, the infamous Szekler village where guards of Gavrila Olteanu Manin beheaded innocent Szeklers with hatchets at the end of World War II. Not even the dust of this village should remain now.... The writer of the message asks us to inform Sandor Korosi Csoma's alma mater, the Goettingen University; British, Indian, Chinese, Tibetan, and Pakistani scientists; and the centers of Buddhism of the prevailing danger to Sandor Korosi Csoma's birthplace. He also asks us to inform the world's Pen Clubs, the children and youth writers, and folklorists about the threat to Elek Benedek's village.

There is a list on the desk in front of me, a four-page, undated document in Romanian hastily copied and entitled: "Lista localitatilor rurale propuse pentru dezafectare si comasare"—the list of villages slated for elimination (this is what the word "dezafectare" stands for) and concentration (comasare) in Harghita County. Let me mention a few of the villages slated for elimination: Enlaka, Kusmod, Andrasfalva, Martonos, Kismedeser, Csobanyos, Kotormany, Gyurke, Atyha, Kalonda, Fancsal, Szenttamas, Csengeller, Bukloka, Bucsin, Guduc, Bukkhavas, Farkaspallo, Bogarfalva, Firtosvaralja, Kecset, Palfalva, Kisfalud, Szencsed, Homorodremete, Kenos, Gyepes, Lokod, Homorodszentpeter, Recsenyed, Szekelymagyaros, Decsfalva, Matisfalva, Homorodujfalu, Maronka, Eszenyo, Ujlak, Csikszentimer, Uzvolgye, Szenete, Libanfalva, Benced, Nagykadacs, Kiskodacs, Nagykede, Kiskede, Szekelyszentmiklos, Petekpatak, Recepatak, Homordoszentlaszlo, Miklosflava, Kukullomezo,.... According to experts, concentration (comasare) means that the settlements will be concentrated on a smaller area.

The following villages, among others, are slated to be concentrated: Rakottyas, Menasag-Ujfalu, Csikjenofalva, Szenttamas, Tibod, Bucsin, Barackos, Antalokpataka, Borospatak, Kapolnapatak, Sotetpatak, Komjat near Gyimesfesolok, Gyimesfelsolok Station, Gorbepatak, Kaszonimper, Kaszon Jakabfalva, Kaszonfeltiz, Csekefalva, Kelyenfalva, and Libanfalva.

The overall picture will perhaps be clearer if I list the settlements which, according to the plan, will remain as "agro-industrial centers." As to what this means exactly, one can only imagine that these villages will provide room for the blocks of apartments that will house the population from destroyed villages. Thus, if this version of the plan is approved, the following villages will "continue to exist": Eted, Szentabraham, Belbor, Csikszentgyorgy, Csikkarcfalva, Korond, Oroszhegy, Gyergyoditro, Csikszepviz, Galocas, Gyergyoalfalu, Szarhegy, Gyimeskozeplok, Farkaslaka, Kaszonaltiz, Homorodszentmarton, Bogoz, Okland, Gyergyoremete, Romanandrasfalva, Csikszentkiraly, Csiksentmarton, Varhegy, Gyergyoujfalu, Simenfalva, Gyergyotolgyes, Kanyad, Zetelaka, and Fesoboldogfalva. The following towns will also continue to exist: Csikszereda, Szekelyudvarhely, Tusnadfurdo, Szekelykeresztur, Gyergyoszentmiklos, Marosheviz or Toplica, and Szentkeresztbanya, or Vlahica today. Two villages from among the 16 villages in the immediate vicinity will be concentrated (one of them is Zsogodfurdo), and the rest will be destroyed.

As one can see, this list does not provide a full picture of the area of Szekelyudvarhely.

In addition, we have no exact data on what is intended to be done in Kovaszna or Maros Counties (to name only those in the Szekelyfold area.) However, we should not forget that only one-third of the Hungarians in Romania live in the Szekelyfold area.

However, the available data provides ample justification for our concern, even if we do not know how this plan has changed in the meantime, how old this list is, or how many years are needed to carry out this "modernization"—an act that should be called "a return to the Middle Ages." I do not know which is more unbearable: the former peasant constraint to land, or the present forced relocation.

Where are the times about which Gabor Balazs wrote the following: "If someone introduces bad laws into the Szekelyfold, or oppresses the community or abuses the Szekler laws, and does not stop this after being warned by the judges, the complaint of the Szeklers whose rights are violated should be investigated and the assembly convened. The captain of Udvarhely should convene the Szekler's National Assembly to judge on issues that belong there. Nobody's person or property should be subjected to harm, unless the bailiff decides against him.... If a nobleman occupies a Szekler's forest, land, pasture, or fishing area, and draws new boundaries, and if he does not want to return these properties, the Szeklers should inform the voivode and the Szekler bailiff. The voivode should bring justice without delay...."

There should be no mistake about this. This is only a description of the letter of rights in which King Ulaszlo summed up the Szekler's rights in 1499. It is true that the Szeklers themselves also participated in the formulation of this document, although there was no decentralization, democracy, openness, and glasnost at that time. Soon half a millenium will have passed since then.

However, it would be a great and serious mistake in thinking if we only saw the Hungarian connections or the national minority consequences of the Romanian plans. These plans affect considerably more than half of Romania's villages and the overwhelming majority of the 7,000-8,000 villages slated for destruction are Romanian villages. The plan intends to "homogenize" not only the nation but also the society. The illusion of the remaining and very relative material, moral, intellectual, and social independence of the peasant farm will also disappear. A man removed from his traditional way of life and active community of neighbors, relatives, and friends, and forced into an unknown world of concrete blocks will become completely defenseless. At home, he knows who he can rely on and who he must avoid. As a forced emigrant in the phalanstery, he will lose his ability to orientate himself. His fate, labor, and his bread will be even more in the hands of the government. The most tragic thing is not so much that he can no longer rummage usefully around his house, in his garden, and in his cellar, but the fact that he is forced to live in a totally strange world. This is true of both Romanians and the national minorities. The only difference is that, while the Romanian peasant relocated to the primitive tenement houses will also lose his traditions, the power of his past, and his warm community, he will retain his language and national identity, because the Romanians cannot assimilate into another language and nation. They will remain Romanians, albeit ruined Romanian peasants deprived of their past and their communities. However the annihilated Hungarians, Germans, Serbs, Bulgarians, and Ukrainians forced into these settlements will lose the essence of their identity: their own language, their culture, and their history which is already curtailed and slandered. In other words, they will disappear.

In a country where they have so far only "rotated" ministers, that is they have kept changing them to keep them from becoming overly comfortable in their posts and creating networks, now they have started to "rotate" the entire nation.

That is why the 228 Szeklers of Zser are right when they raise their voice not only as Szeklers for Szeklers, and Hungarians for Hungarians, but also as men for men.

That is why it is true that, if implemented, this settlement reorganization plan in Romania will be not only extremely perilous for the minorities but also a national tragedy for Romanians.

Writers in CSSR Protest Romanian Plans

AU1908113688 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 18 Aug 88 p 3

[MTI report: "Hungarian and Slovak Writers in the CSSR Protest Romanian Settlement Reorganization Plan"]

[Text] "We are concerned about the situation of national minorities living in Romania; their narrowing human and national minority rights, and the recent 'settlement reorganization plans' being prepared," the statement says and calls these plans a bulldozer policy, a European nightmare, and a policy of destruction.

"Any plans or intentions that damage and destroy values created by man are antisocialist and antihuman," the writers conclude and continue as follows:

"We are concerned about the 8,000 villages inhabited by Romanians, Hungarians, Saxons, Swabians, Moldavians, Gypsies, Turks, Tartars, Serbs, Croatians, Jews, and Slovaks, settlements that the Romanian leadership has decided to destroy. A blind decision will destroy values that are the results and witnesses of centuries of human, cultural, and national efforts. We are facing a drastic violation of human dignity and a cynical disregard of individual and national collective rights and freedom."

"Any political event that is directed against man increases burdens abroad. It increases tension in all Europe, and in the entire world. The issue of national minorities living in Romania will lose its local and domestic meaning.... Romania's national minority policy is becoming the focus of European tension."

"Deeply feeling the helplessness and defenselessness of every concerned and real man in Romania irrespective of his mother tongue, religion, and national affiliation, we protest the Romanian measures that are directed against man and against national minorities, and we protest the destruction and the national minority policy of bulldozers!" the statement concludes. It signed by 32 Hungarian and Slovak writers in the CSSR.

Romanian Resettlers Receive Assistance

LD1908195388 Budapest MTI in English 1420 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 19 (MTI)—In the framework of an action organized to support the Romanian citizens who wish to settle in Hungary, 11 million forints and foreign currency worth 1 million forints have been paid to the relief account of the Hungarian Red Cross until August 18.

Those in need received cash relief in a total value of 8 million forints, in more than 6,000 cases. Cash was donated by thousands of Hungarian citizens, workplace, school, church and youth collectives, trade unions and Red Cross organizations. The foreign currency donations were mostly made by Hungarians living abroad but a donation was also received from the British Red Cross. The population supported the resettlers in kind as well, with clothes, furniture, and household appliances.

Straub Makes Constitution Day Address

LD1908221288 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Speech by Bruno Straub, president of the Presidential Council, in Szekesfehervar on the occasion of Constitution Day—recorded]

[Excerpts] Esteemed rally, ladies and gentlemen. According to the traditions of the Hungarian nation, 20 August is the day of King St Stephen. It is particularly important for the inhabitants of Szekesfehervar, whose town was built on the orders of Stephen as a royal seat, where he had a cathedral built, which became the place where kings were crowned and buried, where justice was dispensed and fairs were held. [passage omitted]

Our self-respect dictates that Hungarian political thinking should indelibly integrate the 1,100 years of our European presence and the heritage of the state-founding Hungarians, in the same way as the achievements of the years since the liberation and the results achieved so far in the building of socialism.

What does, what can, this ancient heritage—and first and foremost the heritage of St Stephen—tell us, contemporary Hungarians? What is the message that we must hear even from the distance of a thousand years? It is first and foremost that before a possible crisis arises, we must look around us and acquaint ourselves with the world. Secondly, it is that if we want to survive, we must change. Over the past 40 years we have frequently failed to think in perspective. While our people were becoming richer and our industry and agriculture produced all that we had dreamt decades before, we did not notice how and where the world was proceeding. Nor did we realize that the slow-down in our reform initiative of 20 years ago already signalled the possibility of crisis, the crisis of our being unable to renew our thinking. Yet, had we looked around the world, we would have had to realize this.

This year's party conference shocked many by revealing that we had made many mistakes,what these mistakes were, that we maintained a greater constancy than was justified, and that we lacked the courage to take steps that could have helped us in catching up with progress.

In my view, the recognized and enumerated mistakes were not the cause but the consequences of a more deeply seated crisis, namely the misinterpretation of the democracy concept of socialism. This is what we must put aright; we have to learn its correct interpretation. It is clear that today, it is perhaps an unequivocal truth, that the changing economic policy is in the forefront. This cannot be realized without changing the system of political institutions, and thus, we must become familiar with people's particular interests, the strata and groups in society, and with their views, which are influenced by those interests. In other words, the key to this whole complex of questions is the realization of democracy.

The modern method of exercising power is that democracy whose quality is given by the active will of the citizens, the authority that harmonizes the expression of multifaceted interests.

Undoubtedly it is not easy to be a democrat. The democratic exercise of power is a difficult task. The mechanisms for revealing and harmonizing interests, which are indispensible for such an exercise of power, can only function faultlessly if the citizens can assert, shape, and even determinine for a longer term the decisions that are made.

On our Constitution Day it is also our duty to mention that the democratic exercise of power is inconceivable without a constitutional settlement of the relationship between the state and the citizen on the one hand, and the state power and the individual on the other. Our progress categorically demands that we create a modern system of political and legal guarantees, and that we bring it into operation. Besides imposing a legal limit on state power and constitutionally guaranteeing the rights of citizens, this secures through specific legal protection—including a constitutional court—our compatriots' freedom to express an opinion and freedom of actions which are not forbidden by law.

The red-letter day cannot make us forget that time has rendered obsolete the Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic. Hence it is the intention of our political and state leadership to formulate the Constitution in a new way and then to submit it to the National Assembly. The Constitution should be worded in such a way as to create an equilibrium between the state and its citizen, for we have learned that excessive state interference makes it difficult for citizens to exercise their fundamental rights. But the other side of the exercise of democracy, namely the active participation of the citizen in handling the country's affairs, cannot be postponed even now. Anyone who watches events knows that in fundamental questions such as openness, freedom of the press, freedom of conscience, assembly, the right to form associations, environmental protection matters, and many other questions, a debate and the harmonization of interests is in progress. We are exercising the assertion of democracy.

In two respects I feel I must highlight the tasks, in the spirit of St. Stephen. The first is the question of nationalities living in our country. We have already progressed in this area in the past decade, but even more progress is needed in order to ensure that the fundamental requirement of democracy, namely that we should respect equally the human dignity and living circumstances of all our compatriots, should become a general feature.

Even today we come across instances when some of our compatriots, guests, or visitors are looked down upon by some, merely because the color of their skin is different. Anyone who thinks and acts this way stains the honor of our nation; with them it is impossible to move toward democracy.

The other matter I must raise is the fundamental question of our survival, progress, and catching up—the question of to what extent we can utilize, in the social and economic sphere, the readiness of millions to act. Bureaucracy and overregulation are the main obstacles to this; freedom of thought and its encouragement is its main pillar of support.

Many among the tens and hundreds of thousands of skilled workers and artists, teachers and scientists, engineers and doctors, await the renewal in which they can contribute their own thoughts to the necessary changes, based on their own knowledge and faith. This depends on the possibility of substantially increasing freedom of thought and action.

Massive forces are pent up here, without whose release it is impossible to move ahead. These are lessons for which we have had to suffer and still have to suffer, by making many sacrifices which occasionally appear to be senseless. But it is also beyond a doubt that we would not have been able to learn these lessons but for our earlier examples. And it is precisely the achievements that for a long time accompanied our work which give us strength for the self-examination that is indispensible for our further development.

The monument of St. Stephen and the decades of our socialist state's existence both warn us that we must dare to confront the consequences of our actions, so that the bad things cannot be repeated and so that we are able to improve what is good.

Esteemed rally. Our country and our people are living through difficult times, and perhaps we are still facing a difficult decade. The essence of the task is almost the same as the one whichhas accompanied the 1000-year history of our state: to catch up with Europe, with the vanguard of the world, so that our backwardness does not become fatal.

The world is watching our efforts today with sympathy, and it also appreciates the fact that in the past decade we have contributed to the improvement of the international climate. Our internal problems did not restrain our activities in foreign affairs, by which we have served economic and political rapprochement between East and West. It is our conviction that an understanding can and must be reached with everyone, in every question, if it is done sincerely, with good intentions.

It is with this conscience that we have shouldered, and it is our duty to shoulder, the cause of 3.5 million Hungarians living as a national minority in neighboring countries, and have endeavored to promote the assertion of their human and national minority rights. This is also the historic mission of the Hungarian People's Republic; this is also aimed at achieving the survival of the Hungarian nation, which has now been living in this part of Europe for 1,100 years.

My wish is that we shall have the strength and perseverance to fulfill our tasks and missions. Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Pozsgay Interviewed on Nation's, Youth's Destiny

AU1908091488 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 17 Aug 88 p 3

[Interview with MSZMP Politburo Member and Minister of State Imre Pozsgay by correspondent identified as "J.I.": "There Will Be True Change If We Can Also Carry Out What We Can Say—Imre Pozsgay on the Nation's Destiny and on Youth"—date and place not given]

[Text] He is directing young students in summer camp in the production of a historical play entitled "The Beginning of a New Era" on the occasion of the 950th anniversary of the death of King St Stephen and as part of the celebrations on Constitution Day on 20 August. The young amateur actors will portray the great changes in Hungarian history, changes that played a determining role in the history of the Hungarian nation. At the same time, the students can also play "Constitution" and "government" games: They can come up with proposals to modify the Constitution and interpellate issues they consider to be important. Our historical past and present reality are close to each other not only in this play; we spoke with Imre Pozsgay on the current prospects that represent the beginning of a new era and on the lessons of St Stephen's life work.

[Pozsgay] The present can become the beginning of a new era for the youth and for the nation if they possess suitable institutions which make social conditions easy to survey. This also requires historical knowledge and self-knowledge. This play can strengthen the young people's entrepreneurial desires, but we should not forget that, although one can also learn things under simulated conditions, one can obtain real knowledge and practice only if one can act independently and practically. Such competition can become the first step in becoming a citizen for many young people, but one can swim only in water. Things that were still forbidden to say just yesterday are allowed today But if they only become free to say, we will soon get bored with them, and a wanton thirst will overcome us to learn more of the things previously forbidden and to be able to speak openly about them. There would be real change if we could carry out everything we are now allowed to say. Epoch-making changes have occurred at the top, but no such changes have taken place at the base, and we still lack the conditions for the emergence of active and sovereign citizens.

[J.I.] The young people are particularly affected by this, as their start in life is full of questions. Therefore, they regard many things as insufficient, things that other generations regard as great achievements....

[Pozsgay] Whether we admit it or not, there has been a great loss of confidence among young people. We can restore this confidence, but not necessarily with promises of a better life, because it would be irresponsible to do this today. We can promise them participation in government, democracy, and the government's loyalty to its citizens and not just the other way around. For a policy to provide such service to the people, it should divide power between the various branches of state power in a traditional way. Thus, society will feel active even if it does not do more than supervise and approve the acts of power. Only this can be the basis of a new consensus to be reached with the young people, because the young people have been promised many things so far, but they have never received one particular thing: participation! As for the desire for more, the government that represents the middle-aged generation must be able to convince every generation that it does not want to cut off any of them, and that division and distribution characterize their relationship. It must provide every group with the possibility of development, and if some groups become disadvantaged, the government should be able to help them with an adequate social policy.

[J.I.] From St Stephen's life work, there are people who stress his achievement in connecting the future of Hungary with European progress, and there are others who stress his activity of laying the foundations of the Hungarian state, of saving the Hungarian nation and providing it with a future. There are people who praise St Stephen's firmness and wisdom, and offer it as an example to be followed today. In these days of 1988 that promise development but which have not yet met expectations, what do you regard as worth considering from the events that took place 1,000 years ago?

[Pozsgay] I think that the establishment of a state was King Stephen's most important deed. We must also bring about a new state configuration, but must couple the Hungarian endowments and traditions with the universal institutions and principles of European civilization. We need a firm constitutional order and a public security that covers the safety of careers, but, at the same time, we must also accept the risks inherent in these measures. But one accepts these risks if there are goals ahead that are worth taking such risks. Otherwise, one will only adjust to the reality, and his subordinate nature will be strengthened. However, if one identifies with these goals, his citizen-attitude will prevail.

[J.I.] Reviving the great changes in history, this historical play could also provide the lesson that attempts for great changes in the course of Hungarian history were seldom crowned with success but met with failure. Young people who lost confidence can conclude that these attempts have never succeeded, so why would this new attempt be any different now? What guarantees that the present changes will have a successful end?

[Pozsgay] Indeed, Hungarian history is full of failures, but I do not share the pedagogical concept that education toward success leads to the emergence of hardened people who are able to produce something. Failure also has its educational influence. We cannot promise a lack of failure, but people should have prospects. It is also true that in history we see the same facts but we do not draw the same conclusions. I do not regard Hungarian history as a series of failures but as the destiny of a nation that carries tremendous burdens, and it is a wonder that this nation survived amidst all of these upheavals. We must discover the secret of this survival. It would be a positive development if the participants in this historical play understood as much of this as possible.

Government Actions on Strike Intervention

Jaruzelski Offers To Meet Strikers

LD2208185288 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] On Thursday, 18 August, a telex arrived from the chancellery of the Council of State addressed to the port of Szczecin, which reads in part:

The chairman of the Council of State [Jaruzelski] is ready to meet the port employees. This readiness, reads the telex, is the result of the unwavering effort of General Jaruzelski to build a national consensus on the basis of respect for the interests of the state and society. This is, therefore, a desire to meet the port employees in normal working conditions. Therefore, it should be understood that the meeting can take place only with due respect for the law in force in our country. The willingness to meet is, therefore, conditioned on an interruption of the illegal blockade of the port and a removal from its premises of persons who are not employed there and are staying there without the agreement of the management.

Let us recall that this proposal was submitted a day after the strike started, that is 18 August. It is, therefore, strange to read the statement of the Inter-Factory Strike Committee [MKS] published today, 21 August. It reads, in part: The MKS of the western Pomerania region's enterprises workforces, in connection with the decision of the port's director to suspend the activity of the Szczecin-Swinoujscie Port Board, states that it refuses to recognize this decision and other decisions of this kind issued by anyone else. In connection with the above, we demand the immediate dismissal of the main director of the Szczecin-Swinoujscie Port Board. We order all persons who do not want to strike to leave the port premises. We state that persons who do not strike or do not support the strike will be not let in.

The MKS treats in the same manner the decision of the voivodship municipal transport enterprise main director to suspend the activity of the striking streetcar and bus depots. This was an excerpt from the statement by the MKS of western Pomerania region work enterprises.

Today's attempts to begin talks were also unsuccessful.

Interior Minister Addresses Nation

LD2208204288 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1953 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Address to the nation by General Czeslaw Kiszczak, Polish minister of internal affairs—live]

[Text] Citizens! It is my duty as chairman of the Council of Ministers Committee for Observance of the Law, Public Order, and Social Discipline, to present to the public a report on the current events in the country and on the measures being taken today in connection with the unfavorable and even dangerous development of the situation.

We all realize the hardship of citizens daily lives: the supply difficulties, the painful problems inflation brings. It is therefore understandable that this situation arouses public emotion. These problems were the subject of the deliberations of the seventh plenum Central Committee. The next PZPR Central Committee plenary session will assess the implementation of its resolution and draw the appropriate conclusions. In accordance with the announcement by The Sejm speaker, an extraordinary sejm commission will meet in the course of the next few days.

Democratization, dialogue, and national accord: These are the unchanging intentions of the authorities of the Polish People's Republic. Over the past few years, important, significant transformations have been made in this sphere, which no one who makes honest assessments can deny. We declare our unchanged will to continue on this line, including also further meetings and talks with the exponents of various views and the representatives of various social milieus. I personally also have taken part in contacts of this kind many times.

It is not a matter for the internal affairs sector to solve the country's socioeconomic problems or to intervene in their course. It has to be noted with full gravity that the present events painfully affect the progress, climate, and prospects of the national accord process. They may seriously interfere with it or even outright nullify it. A chance for the continuation and expansion of constructive dialogue would be the discontinuation of these excesses contrary to the law, particularly the unlawful strikes, seeing that an element of force and violence has been introduced into Polish public life. The generally known facts—which are widely reported by the press, radio, and television—emphatically show that over the last few days there has arisen a real threat to the fundamental interests of the national economy and to our state's internal security. This situation that has lasted for a number of days now painfully affects the primary interests of the nation. Our country's priceless wealth—mineral deposits; products of important sectors of Polish industry; our credibility as a partner in foreign trade, which is being won back with difficulty; and finally Poland's position and prestige in Europe and the world—are threatened.

Painful losses already have occurred. Foreign vessels are turning back from anchorages in the Bay of Pomerania, heading for foreign ports, primarily those ports geographically closest, those of the GDR and the FRG. The amount of conventional penalties and port costs are rising with every hour. Again the law is being broken. Again the specter of high-handedness and anarchy is appearing. People are asking with fear: Where will it

lead? It seems that the past and more recent lessons of history were not enough. The compromising specter is appearing in our country of a Poland in which anarchy rules [nierzadem stoi].

Today, in 11 hard coal mines and in 9 plants, illegal strikes are in progress, called and maintained by small groups of employees. For example, in the "July Manifesto" pit, out of more than 8,500 employees, 800 people are taking an active part in the strike. In the 1 May pit, out of 6,000 employees, there are 300 strikers. In the Moszczenica pit, out of the 7,500-strong work force, 150 people are actively participating in the strike. In all, in the 11 mines, about 5,000 people are on strike, which means that just under 7 percent of the work forces of those mines are making it impossible for 65,000 people to work. Thus the point is not strikes in the interest of the work force. On the other hand, it becomes obvious that the open and hidden inspirers of these activities do not waver in creating a situation in which bloodshed may ensue. Next to the often unreal economic demands, political postulates also are presented. I repeat once again the statement of the Government of the Polish People's Republic: Just as there will be no return to the situation before August 1980, so too there will be no return to the situation of 1981. The nation has behind it sufficient bitter experiences as to be able to differentiate between a workers' protest and unfettered self-will. Here are a few reports by way of example that give an idea of the methods applied by the organizers of the current strikes.

In the Voivodship Urban Transport Enterprise in Szczecin, the strikers dismantled some of the buses to block the gates and make it impossible for those drivers who did not want to join in the strike to drive out onto their routes. In the "Morcinek" mine, entry onto its premises of workers indispensible for the removal of safety threats was not permitted. In the "30 Years of the Polish People's Republic" mine, gangs armed with wooden truncheons manned the gates threatening with force those who wished to leave the premises. The severe beating of a number of people followed. In the "Andaluzja" mine, miners who wished to leave the premises were not let out; they were roughed up; their identity cards were taken away from them, torn up, and thrown into the gutter. In Szczecin, the female driver of a street car on route No six was beaten, as were other workers who did not agree to join in the strike. In most of the striking mines, gangs were formed that were armed with various kinds of dangerous tools, and even gasoline-filled bottles. In many cases, heavy equipment was used to block entrance gates.

Citizens! The authorities of the Polish People's Republic have the constitutional obligation to look to the integrity, freedom, and sovereignty of our state.

It is the duty of the Council of Ministers committee which I lead and the Internal Affairs Ministry to ensure that there is basic discipline, safety for citizens, and protection for the functioning of the economy and the state.

In this phase of developments, I have made the following decisions:

The militia units have been ordered to strengthen the external protection of selected work enterprises;

I have ordered the forces of order to make it impossible for those people involved in the strikes who are not connected with the given area or enterprise and who conduct activity harmful to the public good to continue to be present there;

In consultation with the minister who heads the Council of Ministers office, I am instructing the Katowice, Szczecin, and Gdansk voivodas to introduce a curfew in specific areas where there is a threat to the safety of citizens;

I am empowering the voivodas, in cases of blatant infringement of order, safety, and public order [as heard], to introduce summary procedures at misdemeanor courts. In properly justified cases, preventive measures in the form of imprisonment should be applied in place of a fine;

I have asked the organs of military and civilian prosecution to carry out particularly rigorous prosecution of all cases of infringement of the law, which is so dangerous at present.

I have asked the defense minister to allocate relevant resources to ensure the continuity of municipal transport where it has been stopped.

Depending on how the situation develops, we will reach for the appropriate means, which are available on the strength of existing law. Let us not allow Poland to become a country of lawlessness and anarchy.

'Unfavorable Influence' of Strikes Pointed Out

LD2208182488 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] The Council of Ministers has met to assess the country's socio-political situation. It expressed disquiet at the growing losses in the national economy which have come about as a result of the illegal strikes.

The Council of Ministers stressed that continued strikes will have an unfavorable influence on the implementation of the program for the country's economic reconstruction and, indirectly, will have a painful effect on the market situation. Poland's credibility as a trading partner will also be undermined.

The Council of Ministers assessed the state of the consumer market and acquainted itself with plans up to the end of September. It decided to increase the quantity of goods which are in short supply because such shortages impose particular burdens on society. These articles

should be available on a continuous basis thanks to, among other things, the commitment of considerable foreign currency for importing supplies and purchasing finished goods.

The Council of Ministers also acquainted itself with the state of labor safety and health.

PAP Report on Meeting

LD2208210688 Warsaw PAP in English 2003 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 22—The Council of Ministers met here today to assess the current socioeconomic situation in Poland.

The Council of Ministers expressed concern over the losses in the national economy accumulating due to illegal strikes.

Till Aug. 20, more than 200,000 tonnes of hard coal were not excavated in the striking coal mines and the daily output dropped by nearly 10 per cent.

The delay in the supplies for foreign buyers have already exceeded 60,000 tonnes of coal and the ensuing losses total 2,780,000 zlotys and 3,160,000 dollars.

More than 1,600 railway cars, 65 barges and 15 ships are waiting in the Szczecin port to be unloaded. The daily losses caused by the delay in unloading exceed 90 million zlotys.

The Council stressed that the continuation of strikes will have a negative impact on the implementation of the programme of the country's economic restructuring and indirectly will painfully affect the situation on the market. Poland's credibility as a trade partner will also be undermined.

The Council of Ministers assessed the condition of the consumer market and familiarized itself with forecasts for supplies till the end of September.

The council took decisions which will make it possible to increase the supplies of goods, the shortages of which are particularly arduous for society. These goods should be in constant sales thanks, among other things, to the involvement of considerable foreign currency means for supply imports and purchases of finished products. [sentence as received]

The Council of Ministers acquainted itself with the state of safety and work hygiene and with a report on the activity of state work inspectorate in 1987.

Over the past five years, the number of accidents at work has been constantly diminishing. In comparison to the 1983 figures the number dropped by over 16 per cent. Last year there were 183,000 registered work accidents.

Apart from streamlining the training system, better safety and hygiene of work will be achieved by the investment and financial facilitations for the institutions and plants which implement the programme of improving crew's working conditions. Preventive actions will be also developed.

The Council of Ministers adopted a draft law on the treasury tax which adjusts the law's regulations to the current legal and economic situation.

The Council of Ministers passed a resolution concerning the excess wage tax. The tax remissions this year will reach 70 billion zlotys.

The Council of Ministers adopted an ordinance concerning the composition, activity and the organization of the State Mining Council. The council will now be attached to the minister of industry and not as before to the chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Szalajda Meets Nowotko Work Force

LD2208221288 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] Deputy Premier Zbigniew Szalajda has had a meeting with the work force of the Nowotko engineering plant in Warsaw. The plants' commercial director, Stanislaw Kaniak, noted that the work force was anxious about the strike situation and the sociopolitical situation in the country. The participants in the meeting expressed the view that the annual investment programs should be replaced by 5-year ones, with the names of their authors made public.

To the question what the government intended to do over the next few months and years, deputy Premier Szalajda said that it was necessary partially and temporarily to freeze wages and prices of some ranges from the so-called big basic basket. The number of goods in the market also must be increased, even if this takes place at the expense of reducing exports. The proportions of next year's national income division also have to be considered, since it is clear, said deputy Premier Szalajda, that we are not getting approval for the existing division.

More on Meeting

LD2308005188 Warsaw PAP in English 2341 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 22—"The course of the latest strike action in Poland indicates that those who bet on using force do not take account of the consequences of their actions which can have a catastrophic economic meaning, striking at the interests of all of society as a result," Vice Premier Zbigniew Szalajda said at a meeting with the crew of the Nowotko Mechanical Works here today.

Asked what the government intended to do in the coming months and years, Szalajda stated that it was necessary to partially and transitionally freeze wages and

the prices of several commodities from the so-called big, basic basket. It is also necessary to increase the amount of goods on the market even if this were to take place at the cost of decreasing exports.

It is also necessary to think over the proposals of the distribution of the national income in 1989. This is because it is visible that we are not gaining approval for the existing distribution. Speaking about dispproval which the government's undertakings have encountered on the part of the OPZZ trade union alliance, the vice premier stated that this was also disapproval for too little firmness and too easily giving way to frequently contradictory demands.

When we note that about 500 thousand people are employed in mining while 42 thousand people work in the 10 mines affected by the strikes, it is easy to come to the conclusion that barely 2 thousand people have immobilized 10 mines.

The participants in the meeting expressed an opinion that one should replace annual investment programs with five-year ones and urged putting an end to the anonymity of those plans.

The situation has matured to a point where he must sit down together and talk with the opposition which was not taken note of in 70-ties, said Aleksander Jozwik, deputy manager at the warehouse department.

We are in the 2nd stage of economic reform and it is presumably high time we carried out a synthetic assessment of the effectiveness of various enterprises. During the strike at the Lenin Shipyard a few months ago it was said that it was unprofitable. Later when the shipbuilders returned to work, there was strangely enough no more talk about this, stated Stanislaw Piekarski.

Voivodships Urge 'Immediate' Steps Taken

LD2208213488 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] The Voivodship Defense Committees in Szczecin, Poznan, Gdansk, and Wroclaw have met. They appraised the sociopolitical situation in the voivodships. They recommended that the state and economic administration take immediate and intensive steps for the observance of law and to ensure social discipline and a regular pace of production.

Voivodship Defense Committees Confer on Strikes

LD2308001888 Warsaw PAP in English 2328 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 22—Voivodship defence committees held meetings. In Szczecin assessed was the sociopolitical situation in the voivodship in connection with continued illegal strikes in the Szczecin port and the Voivodship Municipal Transport Enterprise (WPKM). Also evaluated was the functioning of the region's economy in the current conditions with particular regard to health service, trade and municipal sector.

The Szczecin committee also discussed the effectiveness of the introduction by the WPKM of substitute transport in the city and approved the Szczecin voivod's activities aimed at easing difficulties in the operation of the municipal sector, caused by strikes.

In Poznan evaluated was the current socio-economic and political situation in the voivodship. Particular attention was paid ito the state of public order, law abidingness and observance of labour discipline. The state and economic administration was recommended to a take immediate intensive measures aimed at observing the law and order, securing social discipline and regularity of production.

The Poznan committee made indispensable decisions to ensure public order and counteract possible intensification of negative social pehenomena. All institutions which have a bearing on society's living standards and working conditions were obliged to ensure the regular functioning of trade, municipal transport and all communal services.

In Gdansk and Wroclaw discussed was the present sociopolitical situation in the regions and the ways of realizing tasks assigned by the National Defense Committee.

An extraordinary meeting of the voivodship defense committee was also held in Katowice today. It assessed the socio-political situation in the voivodship ensuing from illegal strikes in a part of hard coal mines. The meeting adopted information on the state of security and public order. Following decisions were taken:

—Regional prosecutors instituted investigations into cases involving illegal leadership of strikes,

—As of August 22, binding is the ordinance of the Katowice voivode issued in the voivodship's official gazette No.7 of Aug. 22 and concerning the introduction of summary procedure in the Katowice region in cases involving some offences examined by misdemeanour courts,

—Managers of all the economic organizations in the voivodship have been obligated to ensure normal production conditions while using all their own powers and means.

—A number of other decisions were taken to ensure proper conditons for the voivodship functioning.

Comments on Nationwide Worker Unrest

Strikers Use Coercive Methods

LD2308004588 Warsaw PAP in English 2335 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 22—Strikes organizers say that a part of crews taking part in them joined them voluntarily and spontaneously. However, those who resigned from taking part in strikes and who managed to leave mines, speak about storming parties formed inside enterprises on strike.

The argument for "voluntary character" there are heavy bolts, stones, cut electrical cables, spade handles, picks, fire axes. Guards staged by strikers carefully block the gates of mines and depots with bulky equipment. The main gates of the "Jastrzebie" colliery were chained, and bottles with petrol were stored nearby. Guards watch not only the entrance but also the mine's exit and do not let anybody out.

Only a part of crews are on strike, for instance some 500 workers out of 5,800 employees of the "Andaluzja" colliery. But most workers are barred from getting to their work posts, owing to the activity of small groups of persons who block elevator shafts, gates and walkways.

For example, five miners blocked access to an elevator shaft at the "Jastrzebia" mine at the moment the strike started there.

Strike organizers in the voivodship municipal transport enterprise in Szczecin simply barricaded the gates of the bus depot with buses with previously dismounted parts and sub-assemblies.

The strike committee at the "Morcinek" colliery does not allow mine maintenance services to start the most necessary observation and technical activities preventing threats.

A part of workers of the third shift at the "30-Lecia PRL" [30 Years of the Polish People's Republic] Mine went on strike to manifest solidarity with...two drunken miners who agitated for strike. One of them was detained by law enforcement forces and, though, he was soon freed, a pretext for going on strike remained. The mines storming parties beat with wooden clubs miners who wanted to leave the mine. One of them was wheeled out in a barrow.

Ten miners turned to Kazimierz Switon, member of the strike committee at the "Andaluzja" colliery stating that they wanted to end the strike and leave for home. In reply they heard that no obstacles would be made for them and they could go "if they wanted to serve the commune (the Communist Party-ed.)." However, they were stopped at the gates, and after the incident strike patrols were enforced so that nobody could get outside.

A group of 20 Andaluzja miners were given "passes" to go out but their identity cards were taken "in gage." When it turned out they they did not come back, guards tore the documents to pieces and threw them to a well. Guards barred the 80-strong group of miners, who signed motions to resign from the strike, from leaving "Andaluzja." In Szczecin a woman tram driver was beaten up when she did not want to follow a call to stop work and return to the depot.

Cost of Strikes Described

LD2308011588 Warsaw PAP in English 0004 GMT 23 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 22—The strikes in Silesian mines have been under way for a week now.

Coal is not being extracted from 11 mines: the "Manifest Lipcowy," [July Manifesto] "Jastrzebie," "30-Lecia PRL," [30 Years of the Polish People's Republic] "Moszczenica," and "Borynia" in Jastrzebie-Zdroj, "Andaluzja" in Piekary Slalskie, "Morcinek: in Kaczyce, "Krupinski" in Suszec, "ZMP" in Zory, "1 Maja" [First of May] in W1odzislaw Slaski and as of Monday in the "Lenin" mine in Myslowice-Wesola.

Danger is mounting. The technical services announced that the organizers, calling themselves the representatives of all the crews, were blocking equipment underground. Not enough employees are going underground to conduct safety operations. More attempts are being made to stop work at coal mines.

Our mines are dying before our very eyes, old miners say. Fighting squads did not allow several hundred miners at the "30-Lecia PRL" mine to secure the mine. The state of headings at the "Manifest Lipcowy" mine has further deteriorated, its director Karol Grzywa announced today.

In each excavation wall there are symptoms of falling ceilings which could lead to cave-ins. Removing these hazards is very labour-intensive and is conducted in dangerous conditions by maintenance services. No one from among the strikes would venture to remove these hazards owing to a lack of mining qualifications and experience. An especially dangerous moment will occur when we start working these walls after the strike ends. After a long break, owing to the very humid air in the mine the isolation of the windings of engines and transformers gets damaged. Most probably most of them will have to be replaced, the director of the "Manifest Lipcowy" stated.

Small groups of miners use strike blackmail: about 500-strong in "Andaluzja" and about 200-strong in "Morcinek."

The "know-how" of organizing miners strikes was fully uncovered. An attempt was made to stage a strike a tthe "Jozef" shaft at the "Czerwone Zaglebie" mine in Sosnowiec in the early morning hours today. The guests from Warsaw, Piotr Ikonowicz and Wieslaw Ejchelkrkaut, played the role of "organizers." Miners did not decide yet to stage a strike and even they did not at all know that they would strike, but leaflets about strike were ready. From Warsaw, the guests brought bands for the "guards" and even "firms" hats with the name of the former Solidarnosc and advertising badges.

Without the knowledge of miners of the "Czerwone Zaglebie" mine, the Varsovians already formulated postulates for the miners, including a postulate: "160,000 zlotys for everybody is not too much for living costs." This applies, of course, to a 5-day working week. The guests from Warsaw defined the miners hitherto pay as "hunger wages."

The organization of the strike in the morning hours failed, as the miners pretty indifferently treated the guests from Warsaw.

Also in Silesia, Warsaw resident Maria Woydt and resident of Gdansk Bogdan Lis operate on behalf of miners. Kazimierz Swinton and Bazyli Tyszkiewicz act as advisers in the "Andaluzja" mine.

The attempt that failed in Sosnowiec was made also in the "Lenin" colliery today. This was done by a 200-person group when 823 miners from the second shift were at their work posts. The organizers of the strike blocked entrances and exits with the single objective in mind: to stop the mining of coal.

Waiting for an expert from Jastrzebie at the "Andaluzja" mine, a full blockade of the mine, that could not be either left or entered by anybody, was announced. This morning, experts from the district mining office in Sosnowiec were barred from entering the mine. The experts wanted to inspect the state of safety.

Walesa Present at Gdansk Shipyard Strike

Port Workers Down Tools

LD2208124088 Hamburg DPA in German 1216 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] Gdansk (DPA)—Following the strike of the workers in the Lenin Shipyard the workers in the port of Gdansk also downed tools on Monday. According to Solidarity circles some 3,000 workers are taking part in this strike. Management began talks with the striking workers around lunchtime. Only one section of the port was not affected by the strike. The port of Gdansk is the second big Polish port to be blocked by striking workers.

Solidarity circles reported the downing of tools from various parts of the country. Everywhere the recognition of the banned Solidarity trade union is being demanded. Workers' leader Lech Walesa went to the Lenin Shipyard at about 0900. Hence he was not there when the strike was called at 0700. Walesa had waited until Sunday evening for a reaction from the authorities to his offer of talks for averting the strike.

Security officers disbanded a gathering of workers in the Ursus tractor factory near Warsaw. According to opposition circles at least one department is on strike there. According to official reports about 100 striking workers withdrew to the cafeteria. Two departments are on strike in the Cegielski marine engine factory in Poznan. The Council of Ministers has met in Warsaw.

Warsaw Reports Port Strike

LD2208174588 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] In the first and fourth sectors of the Maritime Trade Port [in Gdansk] some 300 workers have announced a strike. A series of political and economic demands were presented to the management. Work crews in the remaining sectors of the port of Gdansk are continuing to work normally and are currently loading and unloading 12 ships.

Solidarity Activists Arrested

LD2208160388 Hamburg DPA in German 1515 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Excerpts] Gdansk (DPA)—Workers' leader Lech Walesa today has stayed with the striking workers in the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk. He said that at difficult times one needed Solidarity; without it no reforms could be introduced. [passage omitted]

In Ursus, near Warsaw, the police have effectively placed Solidarity leader Zbigniew Bujak under house arrest. Security officers were standing outside his house, preventing him from leaving his home. Solidarity adviser Jacek Kuron was warned by the police that he would be arrested if he were to go to one of the strike centers. Reports of arrests of Solidarity activists were mounting today.

In Upper Silesia, the state prosecutor's office has commenced proceedings against the leaders of the strikes in 12 mines for violating the trade union law. [passage omitted]

Walesa 'Willing To Negotiate'

LD2208164288 Hamburg DPA in German 1622 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Excerpt] Gdansk (DPA)—The chairman of the banned trade union Solidarity, worker leader Lech Walesa, remains willing to negotiate with the government. At a news conference in Gdansk, Solidarity adviser Tadeusz Mazowiecki said today that Walesa definitely sees that there are overriding aims, including the well-being of

Poland. The time is ripe to negotiate and to abolish the ban on trade union pluralism. The nationwide strikes in Poland are a "plebiscite for trade union pluralism."

Walesa plans to remain overnight in the Gdansk shipyard, where according to his advisers over a thousand people are involved in the strike. The spokesman for the strikers, Adam Michnik, said that Solidarity had shown a great deal of goodwill on Sunday and on Monday: The strike at the shipyard could have been avoided. In the interest of possible negotiations, neither Michnik nor Mazowiecki would give details regarding reports of contacts between Walesa and representatives of the political leadership—through private channels. [passage omitted]

Director Appeals to Workers

LD2208183888 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] Let us link up with Gdansk now. At the microphone is Olgierd Pawlowski [not further identified].

[Pawlowski] This morning, at a moment when the work forces of all departments of the Gdansk Lenin Shipyard were implementing their production tasks—which are urgent, by the way—a group of several dozen or so appeared in the grounds of the shipyard calling for a strike. At around 0800 gatekeepers from the industrial security guards were removed from gates Two and Three, the gates were shut, and banners announcing a sit-down strike were hung up. From that moment, no one from the outside could enter the grounds of the shipyard.

At 0945, Alojzy Szablewski reported to the main director with a group of six people who had arrived to continue talks commenced earlier with the director of the supply section about not stopping work, particularly on ships the delivery of which is anticipated this month. They arrived to put forward the condition that they will agree to this if their appearance before the microphone of the enterprise broadcasting station is made possible and the central canteen is made accessible. They did not achieve an agreement on this way of settling the matter.

At 0900, however, the director of the shipyard presented a communique to the workers. Here are some excerpts from it: A group of workers of the shipyard made an attempt to organize an illegal strike. I state that this is an action contrary to the law, bringing harm to the shipyard and to the workers. I inform all workers that voluntary desertion of work positions will constitute a serious infringement of workers' responsibility and is subject to the penalties foreseen in the labor code and the work regulations. The difficult economic and production situation of the shipyard and the actions undertaken to improve the efficiency of economic management are known to all workers. The fact also is known that the future of the shipping industry and of our shipyard is being considered, (?even in) the Ministry of Industry. Whether our shipyard will be able to continue functioning will be decided both by work and by concrete actions bringing about an improvement in the economic situation, while the organization of a strike can have only one aim: the bringing about of the shipyard's liquidation, leaving its workers without work. I appeal to all shipyard workers to carry out their work and not to undertake any strike action.

At 1500, the decisive majority of the work force left the shipyard, in which were left the operations maintainance and premise protection services. Both gates continue to be occupied at this moment by around 400 people in total. Unfortunately, those striking illegally have broken into the quarters of the central canteen. Up to now, those striking have not presented any postulates.

No Change in Gdansk

LD2308095888 Szczecin Domestic Service in Polish 0530 GMT 23 Aug 88

[Text] So far today there has been no change in the situation at the Gdansk Lenin Shipyard. A group of about 400 workers is continuing to occupy two gates in the yard, as well as the central cafeteria, which the illegal strikers broke into yestereday.

However, at 0600, 0630, and 0700, workers from various sections arrived at the yard to begin work as usual. It appears that these are the ones who understood yesterday's communique from the yard's director. That communique said, among other things, that the strike, particularly in the current difficult Gdansk yard situation, quite simply threatrens to close the establishment, which would deprive the whole yard's workforce of work.

Those turning up for work have listened to the address by Minister of Internal Affairs Czeslaw Kiszczak, which was played over the yard's radio broadcasting system.

The situation at the maritime trading port in Gdansk has not changed. But at the northern Heroes of Westerplatte Yard, a group of about 80 workers has declared an illegal sit-in strike. The yard's remaining workforce is working normally.

The strike by five sections of the Szczecin Voivodship Urban Transport [WPKM] Enterprise, which has been going on for several days now and is paralyzing bus and trolley traffic in the town, has been partially stopped. Yesterday at 1900, following an appeal by the law enforcement forces, strikers at the trolley depots in Niemierzyn and Golecin and at the bus depot in Police left the premises they were occupying of their own free will. The WPKM management and the enterprise technical staff have immediately begun preparations to start up normal transportation as quickly as possible. Trollies on routes 3, 5, and 6 resumed operations this morning. A total of 17 trollies have already left the Niemierzyn and Golecin depots. Five more trollies than yesterday have also left the Pogodno depot, which operates routes 2, 4,

7, 8, and 9. This depot has ben operating all the time. Preparations are also in progress to begin bus transportation at the Police depot. So far route 103 from Gleboki to Police is operating.

However, the situation in the port of Szczecin has not changed. An illegal sit-in strike is still in progress there. Eleven vessels are docked in the port, which is at a standstill and another 13 are waiting in the roadsteads.

During the past 24 hours the port in Swinoujscie, which has been working all the time, has transloaded 16,000 tonnes of ore, iron, and phosphate rock.

Walesa Warns Against 'Crackdown'

AU2308104888 Paris AFP in English
1044 GMT 23 Aug 88

[Text] Gdansk, Poland, Aug 23 (AFP)—Lech Walesa, leader of the banned Solidarity trade union, warned the authorities on Tuesday not to resort to force to resolve the wave of industrial unrest sweeping the country.

Mr Walesa, in an address to workers at the Lenin Shipyards here, said that the situation was "extremely serious."

He said that "resorting to force and the coercive measures" announced Monday by Interior Minister General Czeslaw Kiszczak would not solve Poland's political and economic problems.

The only solutions were political, he said, and he was willing to negotiate with the authorities.

Gen. Kiszczak, regarded as close to the Polish leader General Wojciech Jaruzelski, called Monday for a crackdown on the strike movement, including the imposition of curfews.

Poznan Workers Express Solidarity With Miners

LD2208160888 Poznan Domestic Service in Polish
1500 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] This morning at 0900 an unlawful rally in solidarity with the striking miners and dockers took place at Department W-9 of the set and traction engine factory of the Hipolit Cegielski engineering works in Poznan. A group of outsiders took part in it. As a result of the rally part of the work force did not begin work. The prosecutor of the Poznan-Wilda Regional Prosecutors Office has attempted to negotiate with the work force, presenting the legal consequences resulting from their decision. So far they have had no result.

Also, after 1200 nearly 150 people held a rally at Department W-3. Thirty people were in favor of a strike.

Wroclaw Factory, Railroad Workers Strike

Factory Sit-in Strike Starts

LD2208152288 Wroclaw Domestic Service in Polish
1405 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] [Passage indistinct] in Wroclaw at about 0900 a strike committee was formed, and announced a sit-in strike at the factory.

According to unconfirmed reports, none of the strike organizers wished to give any explanation. This is a Solidarity strike [strajk solidarnosciowy], and part of the factory workforce is taking part in the protest. At 1400 some workers went home, but the second shift [passage indistinct].

Defense Committee Appeals for Calm

LD2208151388 Wroclaw Domestic Service in Polish
1405 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] A meeting of the Wroclaw Voivodship Defense Committee, chaired by the Wroclaw mayor, Janusz Owczarek, was held today. General Antoni Jasinski, member of the National Defense Committee and deputy minister of national defense; Zdzislaw Balicki, member of the PZPR Central Committee and first secretary of the Wroclaw Voivodship Party Committee; and Major General Henryk Szumski, commander of the Silesian Military District, took part in the meeting. The Voivodship Defense Committee evaluated the current sociopolitical and economic situation in Wroclaw and in the Wroclaw Voivodship. The meeting discussed methods of implementing the tasks set by the National Defense Committee, and the appropriate decisions were made. The Voivodship Defense Committee apealed to the inhabitants of the Wroclaw Voivodship, particularly factory workforces, to maintain calm and a civic stance in the fulfillment of their obligations.

Partial Rail Strike Starts 22 Aug

LD2208155988 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1515 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] Part of the work force of the Wroclaw railway rolling stock repair enterprise started a strike today. A sign on the gate says that it is a Solidarity occupation strike. This is the only information which our team obtained, since none of the representatives of the strike committee wanted to convey any information. [passage indistinct]

Rail Strike Ends 23 Aug

LD2308095088 Warsaw PAP in English
0911 GMT 23 Aug 88

[Text] Wroclaw, Aug 23—An illegal strike ended at 7:30 this morning at the ZNTK railway rolling stock repair works here.

Wojciech Zmyslony, the plant's general director, told PAP that a delegation of the strike committee called on him at 7:30 this morning and told him that they reached a decision after consulting everyone and were suspending their sit-in strike.

The director did not accept their statement to that effect and demanded the strike be immediately ended, to which the delegation consented.

Normal work will be resumed at the plant starting with second shift.

Jastrzebie Mine Staff Comment on Strike Effects

Mine Director Describes Losses

AU2208153688 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Aug 88 p 3

[PAP report: "Coal Mine Director Konrad Grzywa: If the Strike Continues, the Losses Will Be Practically Impossible To Make Up"]

[Text] In connection with the continuing strike at the "July Manifesto" coal mine at Jastrzebie-Zdroj, the mine's director, Konrad Grzywa, appeared on the 17 August television news.

Replying to a question, he said: The mine is in serious danger because of the presence of methane. In fact, every single possible natural threat is occurring at the mine, he said. Nevertheless, even though the strike has started, it is possible to safeguard the mine so that full production capacity can be reached very soon after the strike is over. My coal mine produces coal with enormous retail value. We set highest prices for the coal we extract. With a daily output of 12,200 tonnes, it will be difficult to make good the present losses. If the strike continues, it will be practically impossible.

Speaking about the conditions demanded by the protesting miners, the director said: I am doing everything I can to preserve dialogue. During this morning's talks, I already thought we were close to a solution to the conflict. But then new conditions were presented to me. I do not know if I will be able to fulfill them. Neither do I know whether these conditions are final, or whether the strikers will present successive new ones.

Engineer Lists Safety Dangers

LD2208115288 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Interview with Tadeusz Korzynski, chief engineer of industrial safety and hygiene at Jastrzebie mine, by unidentified reporter, in Jastrzebie, 22 August—live or recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] We continue the program with a report from Jastrzebie:

[Reporter] The last time we linked up directly from here was over 48 hours ago, on Saturday morning. Up to now, the situation here on the surface of the mine has not, in fact, changed at all. I will only say that out of the work force numbering over 8,000 people, this morning 219 people have gone down, up to now, on the first shift, yet normally, 4.5 thousand people go down [word indistinct]. Is this enough? Here at the microphone with me is the chief engineer of industrial safety and hygiene (BHP) at the mine, Mr Tadeusz Korzynski.

[Korzynski] What has changed during these 48 hours? On Saturday, during the first shift, a collapse of roof rocks occured over a sector of 20 meters on one of the walls which here is known as B18. As a result of this the second and third shifts on Saturday were devoted to the removal of this danger through mobilization of the conveyor. On Sunday, the first, second, and third shifts were worked to secure a breach which had appeared in the roof. [as heard]

For today, that means that after the third shift, there remain there 7.5 meters of roof to secure, 7.5 meters lengthways, and over 3 meters in height. One must constantly work in a high gear, with a high mental disposition, well, so as to be sensitive, because the rock may fall at any moment.

[Reporter] Sir, what about the threat of fire?

[Korzynski] Well, it is the same. Well, the danger continues.

Strikes at Katowice Coal Mines Continue

Miners Union Federation Statement

AU2308094188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Aug 88 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Statement by the Council of the Federation of Miners' Trade Unions in View of the Unrest in Some Coal Mines"]

[Text] Katowice—Here is the text of a statement issued by the Federation of Miners' Trade Unions:

The Federation of Miners' Trade Unions was founded by the joint wish of the trade unions that are present in the great majority of mines. The federation pursues its own program, whose supreme objective is to protect workers in workplaces to which the federation's activity applies.

A method of accountability has been adopted which permits a continuous monitoring of the work of the federation and of its Presidium and leadership. Such an accountability took place at the federation's first congress; and it will be the same at the next congress scheduled for 28 October this year.

This year, a year marked by the negative effects of unsuccessful price and income alterations, the federation has firmly come out in defense of miners' interests. Proof of this is the extraordinary meeting of the federation's presidium on 28 April, which criticized the material situation of miners' families against the background of the price increases and general increase in the cost of living. In connection with this, it was decided to hold another meeting of the federation Presidium on 3 May, attended by members of the government. This meeting adopted a resolution on the initiation of a collective dispute with the government in order to iron out the disproportions between miners' wages and the increasing cost of living experienced by their families.

The negotiations caused by the dispute ended with the conclusion of an agreement, as a result of which miners' wages were adjusted, wage matters put in order, and the possibilities of increased bonuses created. Not everywhere were these adjustments carried out correctly, which resulted in dissatisfaction and the need to make additional adjustments, an expression of which was the miners' protest at the "Boleslaw Smialy" mine.

For a long time now, the trade unions associated in the Federation of Miners' Trade Unions, aware of the needs stemming from the demands and postulates of miners, have been calling for the return of the increments provided by the Miners' Charter and a revision of the rules for working out holiday bonuses and severance pay. Impatience with the slow settling of this matter caused the federation's presidium to issue on 26 July 1988 a postulate that this issue be finally settled by 1 September. This postulate was accompanied by concrete action in the shape of talks with the Ministry of Industry. Several days later, on 29 July to be exact, another informal attempt at creating pressure was made at the "Rudna" coal mine, although the chief postulate concerning the Miners' Charter was already on the way to being settled positively.

Motivated by the moods and opinions of the trade unions in the Lubin mining and metal combine, the Federation and the chairmen of these trade unions established on 3 August a work schedule in order to implement the previous decisions concerning an alteration to the rules for calculating the special increments provided by the Miners' Charter, holiday bonuses, and severance pay.

The schedule was approved by the branch industrial councils within the federation on 6 August, and a simultaneous decision was made to stage a protest action on 9 August in order to speed up the talks with the Ministry of Industry on the subject of a draft Council of Ministers decree permitting a final adjustment of the rules contained in the Miners' Charter. The protest action embraced the workers of the Lubin mining and metal combine and was an expression of the action initiated by the federation.

Concrete talks with the Ministry of Industry finally occurred on 11 August and ended with the adoption of a draft decree which took the federation's opinions into consideration. A detailed report on these talks on the subject of restoring the status of the Miners' Charter was conveyed to all coal mines on 12 August. Stefan Piwonski, chairman of the federation, delivered a direct report at a meeting with the trade unionists of the Rybnik-Jastrzebie mining basin.

The action that has been undertaken and the results that have been achieved, backed not only by solid arguments but also by legal methods of protest, comply with the demands of the miners expressed by their trade unions. The attempts to join the action started by the federation and individual trade unions make it look as if there are forces that have no arguments at their disposal and are merely preying on the achievements of the trade unions.

No one can deny the concrete nature of the federation's work, expressed by the fact that the Miners' Charter issue has finally been settled. Neither can anyone deprive the federation of the initiative to restructure the wage agreements in force.

The Council of the Federation of Miners' Trade Unions, aware of the positive results of actions already undertaken and bearing in mind future undertakings that will determine the life situation of miners' families, hereby states that the attempts to sow unrest in this situation and the putting forth of the same demands or new ones are confusing society and the workforces. This does not serve the interests of the miners, and does not facilitate the federation's work.

Stefan Piwonski, deputy chairman of the Federation of Miners' Trade Unions; Katowice, 18 August 1988.

People's Council Meets

AU2208163688 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20-21 Aug 88 p 2

[Unsigned report: "Extraordinary Meeting of the Katowice Voivodship People's Council"]

[Text] The Presidium of the Voivodship People's Council in Katowice issued the following communique: At its 19 August extraordinary meeting, the Presidium analyzed the voivodship's sociopolitical and economic situation. For many years now the Presidium has attacked, analyzed, and, insofar as possible, gradually solved the most important problems of social and economic life.

Much has been done in this regard in the past years—more than ever before—and this is common knowledge. Many crucial problems of miners and their dependents have also been solved.

We express profound concern for the form and extent of the miners' protests. We think that the measures taken by the minister of labor and social policy, the coal

association, mine managements, and the prosecution to solve the conflict are correct and make it possible to end the conflict to the satisfaction of the workforces. That is why we appeal to the miners and their dependents as well as to the voivodship people to maintain common sense, to comprehend the gravity of the situation, and to comply with the proposed solutions.

The present strike situation has already caused enormous losses, which will continue to increase, which will be irreparable, and which will further worsen the already difficult economic situation. All the people, all inhabitants, and, above all, miners themselves will have to bear the consequence of that situation. The prolongation of strikes constitutes a serious threat to the safety of mines and may produce tragic results. The moral losses, which are difficult to gage, and the concern of our relatives for the further future and foundations of the national existence are not without significance.

The present decision made by the Federation of Miners' Trade Unions during talks with the government are far-reaching and guarantee the implementation of miners' postulates.

The Presidium is convinced that the maturity of miners in our region will guarantee a calm and prudent solution to the existing conflicts. It declares that representative bodies and the state administration will help in solving the most crucial problems of the life and work of our people.

The communique was signed on behalf of the Presidium by Professor Dr Adam Szczurowski, meritorious miner of People's Poland.

Organizers Arrive From Warsaw

LD2208125288 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] Here is another piece of information from our correspondent in Katowice:

[Correspondent] The technique of organizing mining strikes has been fully exposed. Today, in the early morning hours, at the Jozef shaft in the Sosnowiec mine and in Czerwone Zaglebie mine, attempts were made to foment a strike. Appearing in the main roles of organizers of mining strikes were Piotr Piotr Ikonowicz and Wieslaw Ejchelkraut, guests from the capital. The miners are not yet in favor, have not decided about a strike, don't even know at all that they are striking, and yet already leaflets about the strike were ready. The farsighted guests brought with them armbands for so-called marshalling services, and even the trademark hats, with the name of the former Solidarity, and publicity stamps. Without the knowledge of the miners of the Czerwone Zaglebie mine, the Warsaw guests had already formulated postulates for them. The organization of the strike in the early morning hours did not succeed.

Strike Committees Include Terrorists

LD2208155288 Warsaw PAP in English 1315 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] Katowice, Aug. 22—Illegal strikes continue at the 10 mines of the Katowice Voivodship.

At the Manifest Lipcowy [July Manifesto] colliery strike organizers are attempting to radicalize attitudes of part of the crew by establishing a climate of fear and menace.

Most determined groups among miners on strike continue to exert psychological pressure upon those who want to leave strike-occupied area and they resort to acts of violence.

It is not surprising since according to our information strike organizers at the Manifest Lipcowy mine include people who were convicted on terrorist charges in the eighties.

For example, in 1981 Andrzej Kornak attempted to hijack a passenger aircraft flying a domestic route between Warsaw and Katowice and take it to a foreign destination.

Whereas, Leszek Zubik used explosives in his terrorist activities. Both were later convicted under valid legal sentences.

Groups of miners manage more and more frequently to successfully outwit vigilant strike committees and slip out of strike-ridden premises.

Concern over persisting illegal strikes is mounting among the population of the Rybnik coal mining district.

Bogdan Lis Visits "July Manifesto"

LD2208155488 Katowice Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Telephone report from Jastrzebie]

[Summary from poor reception] "In the [word indistinct] hours, as we have reported, Bogdan Lis, the activist of the former Solidarity, also came to the mine."

The second shift at the "July Manifesto" mine saw 79 workers and 71 deputies descending while the gas and fire threat in the mine continues, especially on level 580 where spontaneous combustion has occurred in a workout face, threatening those in the vicinity with carbon monoxide. Difficult situations exist on other faces.

Strike Organizers Block Workers

LD2208160488 Katowice Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] The technical services of mines report that today, this morning, the organizers of illegal strikes are carrying on a blockade of underground equipment. At the

"Krupinski" mine no one descended to rescue the dying faces. At the "Borynia" mine, 52 people were allowed access; 45 at the "Morcinek" mine. This is a scandal, say old miners; our mines are perishing before our eyes.

A large group of miners numbering some 300 people approached the strikers at the "Andaluzja" mine and demanded immediate access to the mine in order to make it safe so that normal work may begin. However, they were not granted access to work. Also, 500 miners were prevented from going to work by strikers' gangs [bojowki strajkowe] at the "30 Years of the Polish People's Republic" mine.

Prosecutor Begins Strike Inquiry

LD2208155588 Warsaw PAP in English
1425 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] Katowice, Aug. 22—Since last Aug. 16 regional prosecutors have been warning leaders of miners' strikes as to the illegality of their actions. They have been calling on strikers to stop illegal procedure and make it possible for directors to freely manage mines' services.

Those warnings and calls have failed to produce the desired effect. The threat posed by continued strikes increases in relation to people and assets committed to the care of mines' managements. In connection with this the regional prosecutor in Jastrzebie-Zdroj started an investigation into illegal leadership of strikes—an offence under Article No. 54 of the law of Oct. 18, 1982, on trade unions, in coal mines "Manifest Lipcowy" [July Manifesto], "Morcinek", "Jastrzebie", "30-Lecia Prl" [30 Years of the Polish People's Republic], "Moszczenica", "Borynia, "Krupinski", "ZMP" and "1 Maja" [First of May], while the regional prosecutor in Tarnowskie Gory—in "Andaluzja." [sentence as received]

Strikers Disregard Bishop's Appeal

LD2208161288 Warsaw PAP in English
1453 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] Katowice, Aug. 22—In connection with worsening technical conditions in mines in which strikes continue, warnings and appeals have been addressed to strikes' organizers as well as to usurpatory strike committees.

On Aug. 21 a pastoral message was read out from pulpits in all Roman Catholic churches that was issued by Katowice Bishop Damian Zimon, who said, among other things: "I hope that both striking miners and mines' technical inspection, proving their managing care for our common property, will properly protect mines and guard them against damage."

The message was also heard by the faithful during masses staged at the mines on strike. However, the message was not taken into consideration. Strike leaders in mines "Manifest Lipcowy," [July Manifesto] "1 Maja," [First of May] "Borynia," "Morcinek," "Andaluzja" and others keep on barring technical inspection teams from threatened beds.

More on Outside Strike Organizers

LD2208161988 Warsaw PAP in English
1520 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] Katowice, Aug. 22—The "technique" of organizing miners strikes has shown its true colours. Early Monday morning, at the Czerwone Zaglebie colliery in Sosnowiec, there was an attempt to stage a strike. The roles of "organizers" were played by...visitors from Warsaw: Piotr Ikonowicz and Wieslaw Ejchelkraut.

The miners did not yet decide whether to strike and they did not know that they were on strike when the leaflets speaking about the strike had been ready. The visitors brought with them arm-bands for the so-called services for maintaining order and "branded" hats bearing the name of the former Solidarnosc as well as publicity badges.

The visitors from Warsaw, behind the backs of the Czerwone Zaglebie miners, formulated postulates. One of them spoke about "160,000 zlotys for everyone—it is not too much for the costs of living", this of course referring to the five-day working week. The hitherto wages of miners were described by the visitors as "starvation" ones.

The attempt to organize a strike in the morning ended in a fiasco as the miners treated the visitors from Warsaw with indifference.

Meanwhile, another resident of Warsaw Maria Woydt and resident of Gdansk Bogdan Lis are also pursuing activity on behalf of miners in the region of Silesia.

Strikes Continue 23 Aug

LD2308083588 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
0500 GMT 23 Aug 88

[Text] We have fresh reports from our correspondents about the situation in individual regions. Maciej Waca reports from Katowice:

Illegal occupation strikes are continuing in 11 mines of the Katowice Voivodship. Yesterday, in Katowice, an extraordinary meeting of the Voivodship Defense Committee assessed the socioeconomic situation in the voivodship. Katowice's mayor, guided by the need to ensure the effective protection of peace, order, and public order, the restoration of disrupted social discipline, and also the efficient functioning of the economy, ordered the introduction of a police curfew in Jastrzebie-Zdroj. The curfew is in force from 2300 [2100 GMT] to 0500 [0300 GMT]. Speedier procedures in hearings for specific misdemeanors were also introduced in Katowice Voivodship.

Details are published in today's Katowice newspapers, the TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA and the DZIENNIK ZACHODNI.

Two More Mines Declare Strikes

LD2308111188 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 23 Aug 88

[Text] Today brings new facts. Yesterday evening, illegal strikes began in the "Lenin" colliery in Myslowice Wesola and in Marcel in Wodzislaw Slaski. Crowds of miners wanting to start work are gathering in front of the "Marcel" mine. They are being prevented from entering the territory of the extraction enterprise by a 200-strong group of people which has declared an illegal strike. The work force of the "Marcel" mine numbers over 5,600 people. In Myslowice, in the "Lenin" mine, the changing rooms have been taken over by a group of 500 people, which, on the request of a self-appointed committee, allows miners neither in nor out. The strikers expressed their consent to the technical securing of the mine on a demand from the management. The work force of the "Lenin" mine numbers over 8,200 people. In both new cases if illegal strikes, the mine management suspended production operations. The miners who were not allowed into both mines are declaring their will to work through their signatures.

At around 2200 yesterday, after a meeting between representatives of the work force of the Murcki mine in Katowice, the mine management, and the trade union aktiv, a communique was published in which it was decided to support the economic postulates presented by the striking miners, while at the same time rejecting all matters of a political nature. The Murcki mine continues normal extraction operations.

Szczecin Transportation Workers Strike Update

Police Break Up Transport Strike

LD2208235988 Hamburg DPA in German 1938 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—This evening in Szczecin the police cleared two tram depots occupied by striking workers. It is reported by the dissident circles that the police gave the workers 5 minutes to leave the depots. In one of the enterprises, in which predominantly women work, no force was used. In the other depot, the police used force to evict the occupiers.

A bus depot which is on strike is also said to have been cleared by the police.

Strikers Evicted From Tram Depots

AU2208203288 Paris AFP in English 2021 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 22 (AFP)—Riot police evicted strikers from two tram depots and a bus depot in the north-western port of Szczecin, an informed source on the spot said, after a day in which strikes spread throughout the country.

The police gave the strikers 10 minutes to leave the buildings, and broke in when they refused to comply.

In one of the tram depots police frog-marched some 40 people into police vans after they staged a sit down protest as the Zomos arrived. The other strikers left quietly.

Some 120 people were on strike in the tram depots.

An eye witness told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE by phone that police outnumbered strikers by 10 to one.

The three strike-hit depots were not considered key installations. Several hundred strikers were still occupying the two biggest tram depots on the city's public transport network.

Strikers there said after the Zomos' intervention at the smaller depots that they had no intention of giving up their protest.

Earlier Monday at Szczecin about 60 workers were arrested at the shipyards to prevent them stopping work in support of the transport workers and some 2,000 dockers who have been on strike since Wednesday, informed sources said.

Workers at a railway equipment manufacturer in Szczecin downed tools on Monday.

Soviet television showed pictures Monday of the strikes at Szczecin and Katowice, southern Poland, decribing the action as "illegal".

Strikers Leave Some Depots

LD2208225988 Warsaw PAP in English 1959 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] Szczecin, Aug. 22—Following calls by law enforcement forces, tonight striking workers left three municipal transport depots here—a bus depot in Police and two tram depots in the Niemierzyn and Golecin districts of the city.

The depots were taken over by the working services of the Voivodship Municipal Transport Enterprise (WPKM) to prepare them for starting normal work in early morning hours of August 23.

Sit-in strikes continue at two bus depots here—in the Struga and Klonowica Streets.

Soldiers Tasked With Driving Buses

LD2208171688 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1515 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] There is no change in the situation in the port of Szczecin; the strike continues. With regard to transportation, streetcars from one depot are running. Municipal buses have been substituted by additional stock driven by soldiers.

Rail Workers Join Strike

LD2208172988 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 22 Aug 88

["Report from Szczecin"]

[Text] This morning at 0900 some workers at the transport and equipment depot of the Railway Construction Enterprise interrupted work and presented their demands to the management. This caused the interruption of work on many sections of sensitive building sites, inter alia, on the Szczecin Castle route.

Communiques to Transport Workers

LD2208191388 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] Here are some communiques we received literally two minutes ago:

[From] The Director of the Voivodship Urban Transport Enterprise [WPKM] in Szczecin, to the work forces of departments the activity of which I have suspended:

Pursuant to the decision on the suspension of departments of the WPKM, I report that I have approached the founding body for their liquidation within the framework of the reorganization of the enterprise. I call on the work forces of the suspended departments for unconditional subservience to department management, including leaving the work enterprise. I communicate that the signing of the list of workers willing to work that is available in the management offices at 5 Klonowice Street and 25 Mariacka Street, and also at the managers of departments, continues to be applicable. I continue to express willingness to consider resolutions of an economic and organizational character relating to the enterprise work force which fall within my competence and that of the founding body.

Signed, Andrzej Anczykowski, director of the WPKM in Szczecin.

The next communique is from the regional prosecutor in Police, with offices in Szczecin: From the 18 August 1988, strikes have been in progress at the bus depots on Struga Street, Klonowice Street, and also in Police. From 19 August 1988, strikes have been in progress at the street car depots in Niemierzyn and Golecin. I state that in light of the regulations of the law of 8 October 1982, these strikes are illegal. In association with this, I have begun proceedings against the organizers and those directing the strike actions regarding offenses under Article 54 of this law. I inform that I have summoned the persons most active in the organization and maintenance of these strike actions to appear immediately at the prosecutor's office. Ignoring this summons will result in a fine up to 20,000 zlotys being imposed and these people being forcibly brought in. Persistent refusal to present oneself may cause one's detention for up to 30 days.

The communique of the regional prosecutor in Police includes 19 names. Here is the next part of the communique: At the same time, I seriously warn of criminal responsibility for the application of force or threats in relations to those who refuse to join the strike action or who wish to leave the area of the depot. Undertaking activities with the aim of calling forth a public disturbance, as well as lack of obedience to the decrees of the WPKM management and the law-enforcement bodies calling on persons who are employees of the enterprise to immediately depart its premises, also carry the threat of criminal responsibility.

Signed, Zbigniew Mikulski, regional prosecutor, Szczecin, 22 August 1988.

Szczecin Port Strike Actions, Reactions

Striker Talks of 'War Against Nation'

LD2308092088 Paris Domestic Service in French 0600 GMT 23 Aug 88

[Excerpts] Curfews are in force in the Polish towns of Szczecin, Katowice, and Gdansk. The 1-week arm-wrestling contest between the striking workers and the Polish regime was stepped up yesterday with a strike by the 10,000 workers at the Lenin Shipyards in Gdansk. [passage omitted]

Thomas Labesse of the Contact Association has just telephoned the strike committee office in the port of Szczecin. The workers, who have been on strike for 8 days, seem more determined than ever to continue their action.

[Begin unidentified strike committee member recording in Polish, with superimposed French translation] We are waiting for them [as heard]. [Words indistinct] they can arrive at any moment. After what they did in the trolley car depots we are ready for anything. We are well prepared, and we are ready to defend ourselves. We are perhaps the only ones able to defend ourselves, and we will not give them our skins. What forced us to do this was the brutality at the bus and trolley car depots—they even attacked women.

They are said to be ready to talk with us. Now it is war against the nation, but we will win. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Reporter, Strikers Discuss Strike

AU2308100788 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20-21 Aug 88 p 2

[Wojciech Jurczak report: "Who Is in Charge Beyond Gates?"]

[Text] The main gates to Szczecin harbor are situated near the old Lasztownia building and can be well seen from the new road used by many tourists.

At the gates, which carry a banner "occupied by strikers," groups of excited individuals, some of whom distributed leaflets, could be seen. The leaflets set out the strikers' demands: "legalization of Solidarity," wage increases of about 50 percent for all workers, reinstatement of workers dismissed "for trade union activities," and assurance of "strikers' safety."

Anything can be discussed, even a revival of shadows. One such shadow has been revived. The strike appeal and its postulates have been signed by Andrzej Milczanowski as... the head of the Solidarity Coordinating Commission in West Pomerania. In that appeal Mr Milczanowski calls for "struggle" and demands that Solidarity structures should set up an interplant strike committee and proclaim strikes in all Szczecin plants.

This is because Mr Milczanowski is mad about strikes. No, he does not work in Szczecin harbor. He is just a legal advisor. In 1981-8 he made his name as a talented organizer of senseless strikes. This time he is an organizer in a harbor in which various vital lifelines of the Polish economy cross each other.

I tried to get talking to a young man who handed me the "appeal" signed by Mr Milczanowski.

"Why am I on strike?" the young man answered my question. "Because my wages are so low...."

"How much do you earn?"

"About Z35,000 a month...."

"But why is it that harbor workers allow a man who does not work in the port and has nothing to with with its workers to be in charge of them?"

"Mr Milczanowski is an activist. He is our defender."

"Defender against whom?"

The young man did not answer. He just grinned, because perhaps he had no arguments or did not want to have them.

I tried to cross the gates and to get in touch with someone from harbor management. Unfortunately... A man wearing a safety helmet asked me why I wanted to get in and whom I wanted to see. I told him I was a journalist. He said: "But you will never write the truth." "Why so sure"? I asked him. His reply was some scatological expressions I dare not print. So that was their way of discussing things. Swear words instead of arguments.

Strikes Cause 'Serious Problems' for People

AU2208160288 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Aug 88 p 2

[PAP report: "Szczecin: The Port Has Stopped Work, Difficulties With Transportation"]

[Text] Szczecin—On 17 August, two sectors of the port of Szczecin which specialize in freight and part of a third sector stopped work on 6 out of the total of 20 vessels that were in port that day. Commencing an illegal strike, a group of about 150 employees out of the 6,000-plus employed by the port, plus another 50 employees from the "Norma" and "Rekord" cooperatives also working in the port, put forth demands that included political and economic postulates, including a 50 percent increase in the wages of Szczecin port employees, whose wages are already among the highest in Szczecin.

On 18 August, a mass loading-unloading enterprise and a transportation enterprise also stopped work. All in all, work has stopped on a total of 16 vessels.

On the morning of 18 August, buses of the Voivodship Municipal Transport Enterprise failed to leave their garage. This caused serious problems for the inhabitants. Many people were late for work. The transport enterprise also put forth political and economic demands, and a sit-in strike was declared, just like at the port. The strikers do not wish to talk to journalists about their motives.

Prosecutors have informed the illegal strikers in the port and transport enterprise about the consequences of their action as described in the labor code. On 18 August, the voivodship authorities hired 32 tourist buses and deployed them on the route between downtown Szczecin and the large new district of Sloneczne. A frequent train service was also set up.

The port in Swinoujscie is functioning normally. Three large vessels were emptied of their loads there on 18 August.

PAP Speaks With Strikers Who Quit

LD2208221888 Warsaw PAP in English 2130 GMT 22 Aug 88

["We Were Shouted Down, Say Those Who Quit Strike"—PAP headline]

[Text] Szczecin, Aug. 22—They are still under the impression of the strike, stormy discussions. They are afraid to give their names, they want to remain anonymous. They did however, decide to quit the strike, one of

them because he simply did not like it, another for family reasons, still another because he fell sick. Although they are still under the impression of the strike, they have no doubts as to the correctness of their decisions.

At first there was talk about prices, a worker at the General Cargo Department told PAP, adding: Later prices and living conditions were left aside. Discussions about politics began, that "Solidarnosc" was necessary, that it had to be founded, that we should set the example. When there was talk about prices and costs people listened because life is not easy nowadays. Later they began to see that this was politics. They stupefied some. Many people who remained there feel losers, the atmosphere is dismal.

About 200 people are employed at my department, another employee of the General Cargo Department said. At first everyone endorsed the strike, people said that the living standards had to be improved. Now there are only about 20 strikers left. When the first mass rally began, one of the directors tried to explain, spoke about the port, said that things could get even better, that there was going to be a free zone, that we have worked out high profits. They did not allow him to talk, they simply shouted him down. They organized meetings systematically. At first a lot of people attended the meetings, later on increasingly less, a dozen-so people. [sentence as received]

My department, handling bulk cargo, joined the strike a day later after the General Cargo Department. It began with a meeting, talk about prices, costs of living, later on politics.

Those who did the least for the port became the loudest ones, said two of the workers. Among them are young people who started working in the enterprise only recently. Take one who worked for three days, did not get to know the port but tells others what to do, stands with an armband and checks who goes outside and who enters...

Less and less people are taking part in the strike in the Szczecin port. Some of them left the port on sick leave, like one of the interviewed workers. Some left secretly and others in groups. "We were simply shouted down, no doubt," they said.

Bishop Counsels Against 'Hatred'

LD2208130288 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] Szczecin—The 2d week of illegal strikes was resumed today by part of the Szczecin port workforce and by the voivodship municipal transport enterprise. Yesterday, a number of important communiques were announced, including one by the port director, who suspended port operations in Szczecin, and called for the premises to be vacated immediately. The appeal failed to have the required effect, so a communique was announced by the Szczecin regional prosecutor giving details on the initiation of penal procedures against persons illegally occupying the port. The communique reads in part: Those who do not obey this call, and who fail to report at regional prosecutors' offices face financial penalities up to Z20,000 and forced attendance. Any avoidance of implementing this order can lead to arrest for up to 30 days.

Reaction to the prosecutor's communique by the striking port workers was an immediate blockade of all entry gates to the port with heavy equipment, including cranes and forklifts.

A field mass was held on the port premises yesterday, during which a pastoral letter from the Szczecin and Kamien bishop, Kazimierz Majdanski, was read. Here are some excerpts:

There is much injustice among us, and many defeats and wrongs. In such a situation, emotions explode easily. We must know about the situation, we must know about it urgently, because our emotions have sometimes been cunningly abused. We must ask: To what purpose, what are we to achieve? And we should ask: Whom will it serve? We have the right and duty to ask, and we have the right and duty to an honest reply before God and the people. All of us have a right and duty to ask which of our rightful demands is possible today, and which will become possible only tomorrow. We also have the right and duty to ask whether there is some good around us which we cannot see, and also if there is much wrong which we do ourselves. These are not easy questions, but who can say they are dishonest?

I would like to repeat the words our pope said on 11 June last year at Jasne Blonie, in Polish Szczecin, when the wind blew from the Baltic, from our sea:

Let this, our sea, be secure, together with the roadstead. Let our ports be secure, let ships be welcome to enter them, and not sail instead to foreign ports. Let our sea and land lanes be secure. We need them, and they are needed for the development of all Poland. Let our land not become waste.

Let the words spoken by John Paul II reverberate in our hearts: There is no more successful way to revive communities than by healthy families.

The family is the earliest school for social virtues, which are needed by every community. Let us consider all this calmly, let us be concerned not with the interests of one group, but the entire community. This community has been constantly divided: Let it be united, caring for the good of all. Another thing to be considered: Szczecin is the only large Polish city situated on the border. [as heard] No one in Poland is obliged to understand this fact as we do. Nearby live our neighbors, who are wise, considerate, and strong. Let us be very wise, and very

considerate, despite the fact that we are not strong. Let us be independent in thinking. We have a sacred right to know who leads us in moments of calm, and who in moments of perturbation.

Among us there are too many forms of manipulation, propaganda, and falsity. We have the right to expect an explanation of the purpose of any initiatives and of what they will bring. We have the right to consider all this because only 70 years ago we regained our freedom after a long bondage; only 43 years ago we returned to these Piast lands, marked by the border mapped out under the wisdom of Mieszko I and Boleslaw Chrobry; it was only 18 years that the bloody December events took place in Szczecin; and 8 years the Szczecin August.

I would ask you, brothers and sisters, to consider the fact that in these difficult days we have among us the crowned Mother of God, crowned for us by the Holy Father, who 7 years ago said in Fatima: In the end my immaculate heart will prevail. A few days ago, in the sanctuary of Sloneczne housing development in Szczenin, we, the entire diocese, said: Let us allow her to be our mother. Let her advise us, she is the most considerate. Let her counsel us so that our deeds are wise, and lead us somewhere. Let her teach us how to look into our own hearts, and to consider that the ultimate source of all defeats is the sin, most of all, my own sin, including the sin of vengeance and hatred. Let her crush the serpent's head. Let her pray for our just peace, which she so much desires for us.

Dearly beloved, please consider all this.

Dockers' Unions Issue Stance

AU2308093888 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Aug 88 p 2

[PAP report: "Stance by the Trade Unionists of the Port of Szczecin"]

[Text] Szczecin—In connection with the continuing illegal strike at the port of Szczecin, which has paralyzed the servicing of ships and stopped the arrival of goods wagons there, the board of the Trade Union of Employees of the Szczecin-Swinoujscie Port Authority has issued a stance. In it we read the following:

In connection with the sit-in strike staged by some employees of the port of Szczecin, the board of the Trade Union of Employees of the Szczecin-Swinoujscie Port Authority hereby expresses its support for all legal activity to defend the interests of the workforce and preserve the level of real wages and the standard of living.

We state with concern that the frequent inappropriate decisions concerning prices and wages, which are emptying the market and boosting inflation; plus the tax system, which strangles any independent activity by enterprises; are leading to social tension.

This tension is aggravated by arrogance and haste on the part of some state administrative bodies and their failure to react to signals from the trade unions. All this is one of the chief causes of the present situation. We have always been and remain in favor of the objectives of economic reform, democracy, self-government, scientific and organizational progress, and an improvement in the market and in the standard of living. However, the bureaucratically, inconsistently, and chaotically implemented reform has neither brought the economic results that were expected, nor fulfilled the previously declared intention of preserving the standard of living of workers and pensioners.

The board of the Trade Union of Employees of the Szczecin-Swinoujscie Port Authority holds that a justified defense of the interests of the workforce must proceed in accordance with the hard-won trade union law, which includes the right to hold collective disputes and strikes. The strike is an ultimate weapon in Poland's present economic situation, and therefore in our enterprise as well. The present standstill in the port is a disaster for all of us.

Transport Strike in Piaseczno Shortlived

LD2208183788 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] This morning there was a strike at the MZK [Municipal Transport Enterprise] depot in Piaseczno, near Warsaw. The MZK director entered into negotiations with the workforce. The chairman of the MZK Employees Trade Union took part. [passage indistinct] By now they have all gone on the road—it is now 1100—they have all taken their schedules, started up the buses, and gone on the road.

Strike at Poznan Engineering Works Reported

LD2208222688 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] In two factories of the Hipolit Cegielski engineering works in Poznan, the rail car and locomotive factory and the set and traction engines factory, a meeting was organized this morning with the participation of outside activists of the former Solidarity. Part of the work force of these factories took part in this meeting. As a result of long-lasting discussions, an interruption of work was proclaimed in these two factories and strike committees of several persons were formed. Maciej Andreski, a prosecutor from the Poznan-Nowe Miasto and Wilda regional prosecutor's office, went to the work forces of these factories, but he did not succeed in getting through to the strikers in the hall. In talks with representatives he informed them that the strike was of an illegal nature. The strikers' representatives told the prosecutor that the strike had a political character.

In the rail car and locomotive factory, in the afternoon around 120 people out of the more than 1,000 employed were taking part in the sit-in strike. On the other hand, in

the set and traction engines factory, around 100 people are striking out of the more than 900 employed. Management representatives talked with the strikers of the two factories, appealing for the noninterruption of work. However, these arguments had no effect; members of the work forces of the two factories who did not express willingness to take part in the illegal strike left the enterprises.

Stalowa Wola Spokesman Denies 3,000 on Strike

LD2208181188 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] According to the press spokesman of the Stalowa Wola steelworks industrial combine, a group of workers of the steelworks who are activists of the former Solidarity, together with persons from outside the enterprise, today undertook an attempt to organize a sit-down strike in the tool department after having scattered leaflets calling for strikes. Those gathered undertook actions intended to include the entire enterprise in the strike, but this attempt was not successful. Of the more than 25,000 employees of the enterprise, of whom 20,000 are employed in the steelworks proper, the sit-down strike in the tool department is being continued by 45 workers from that department and 80 workers from other departments.

The Illegal Strike Committee, which is led by Wieslaw Wojtas and Wieslaw Turas, activists of the former trade union Solidarity, is occupying the tool department. It has formulated two demands: the legalization of the independent, self-governing trade union Solidarity, and the re-employment of workers fired from the steelworks for union activity.

In this report, we have presented the real situation in the Stalowa Wola steelworks; we deny the unrealistic reports being spread by Western Polish-language radio stations that 3,000 people are taking part in the strike, the press spokesman of the Stalowa Wola steelworks combine stated.

Two Strike Attempts at Warsaw Steelworks

LD2208180988 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] This morning at two work enterprises in Warsaw attempts were made to organize illegal strikes. A group of people led by Seweryn Jaworski, who do not work for Warsaw steelworks, tried to organize a strike at the cold rolling mill of the steelworks. This group was escorted out of the steelworks but some of the workforce of the cold rolled sheet metal section, about 30 people in all, and the neighboring section of the drawing mill, about 40 people, did not resume work until the end of the first shift. During the second shift, work was disturbed in these sections because some of the employees are not working. The management of the steelworks and the supervisory staff of the two sections are conducting explanatory talks in order to return to normal work. The steelworks director announced steps which will be taken against the organizers of the illegal strike.

This morning attempts were made at the Ursus enginering works to organize an illegal strike. At 0830 a group of about 80 people occupied one of the lounges. The workforce of Ursus, 9,800 strong on the first shift, continued working normally. The director for production, in the presence of the regional prosecutor, called on those occupying the lounge to leave the room and resume work, informing them about the illegal nature of actions taken by them and the legal consequences. At 1330 the group left the rooms [plural as heard] of their own volition and then left the premises of the Ursus works.

Media Commentary Cited on Work Stoppage Crisis

Illegal Nature of Strikes Viewed

AU2208171888 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Aug 88 p 3

[PAP commentary: "Against the Background of the Illegal Strikes"]

[Text] News about the strikes is causing concern among Polish society, because people are asking about the likely effects of such radical and illegal action. There are doubts, as well as the question: What is this all about? After all, most of the present postulates conform to earlier conclusions put forth by the miners' trade unions.

We all still remember the strikes last April and May. Their highly unfavorable effects are obvious. Our weak economy can feel every stoppage, every missing tonne of metal or coal. We know what role this raw material plays in the entire fuel and energy complex. Disruptions in coal extraction lead directly to an impoverished market and a fall in exports.

Second, both the strikes in April and May and the present strikes hit at the progressing and tangible democratization of sociopolitical life in our country.

Unfortunately, sowing internal conflicts has negative repercussions in the international arena. It undermines Poland's position, and, every time it happens, the laboriously established economic links, without which no economy can function and develop, are broken. We remember how the previous strikes made negotiations on Poland's debts difficult.

Every time there is a conflict in Poland, Poland appears on the front pages of the world's papers. Immediately, journalists and politicians who are ill disposed toward us do everything they can to spread the view that we are a country torn with strife, and untrustworthy. It is worth remembering this; it is a consequence of such conflicts.

'Solidarity' Demanding Repeat Lesson

LD2208110988 Warsaw PAP in English
0945 GMT 22 Aug 88

["Polish Papers on Illegal Strikes"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 22—In a commentary after the recent meeting of the PUWP CC Political Bureau headlined "Everywhere Where Active Presence Is Needed", the PUWP daily TRYBUNA LUDU writes today about the illegal strikes:

"Legalisation of the 'Solidarnosc' is nothing else but demanding a repeat lesson, already historic one as it is, as a result of which the state and society were placed on the verge of a national tragedy.

"Young people, in the years 1980 and 1981 themselves students, have a foggy recollection of the then situation. Nevertheless, the myth continues to operate since it is indispensible to those who want to take advantage of it today, with all today's emotions, who want to give it one more try.

"Transformations of socialism, and we have a significant, more often than not forerunning share in them are becoming dangerous to them as they overturn stereotypes. The transformations establish a situation different in quality, a different world climate for socialism. For our ideological opponents, they are a serious threat since they deprive them of arguments.

"Difficult economic and market situation turned out to encourage illegal strikes. Again the floor was given to advisers with names a little obsolete now. As a matter of fact, their advice is quite terse and has been familiar for years now—negation, destruction, further complication of the pay-price situation, difficult as it already is, plus financial demands the economy can in no way afford," concludes the TRYBUNA LUDU.

The popular daily ZYCIE WARSZAWY lends its voice to the discussion too and says:

"Effects of Polish strikes hit out not only against us, but also against our friends and allies who have for a few years now been more willing to show faith in nations who are convinced of the value of the way of development the nations themselves have chosen."

"We are being looked at by those far away and by these near here, by friends of Poland and Poles and by those for whom the best, or rather the most convenient Poland, is a weak Poland,' the ZYCIE WARSZAWY noted.

"We are also being watched with interest, and this is hardly surprising, by those who find in the developments in Poland arguments for their own assessment of socialism as well as of possibilities and prospects for its development.

"As long as we remain straining—and irrespective of reasons, at that—under the burden of disputes and internal conflicts without finding a chance for gaining firm ground in terms of economy, those who are obstinate in persuading others about 'irreformability of socialism' are going to go on pointing their fingers at us.

"At the same time—and what a paradox—our social, economic and, particularly, political perturbations will serve as a convenient argument, not to call it an excuse, for those both in Poland and in socialist countries who have from the very beginning been unwilling to accept such concepts as 'reforms,' 'restructuring,' and 'democratization' and hoped for return to those old, very familiar methods of government," wrote ZYCIE WARSZWY, while the Army daily ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI observed:

"Former officials of the 'Solidarnosc' are more and more frequently appearing on mine premises to give to strikers instructions unique in their kind.

"For instance, at the Andaluzja colliery of Piekary Slaskie, where attempts had been made to threaten miners who wanted to start work, former 'Solidarnosc' activist Bazyli Tyszkiewicz, who was not a Andaluzja colliery worker, tried to prove that the most important thing (for whom and to whose advantage please) was to render coal excavation impossible.

"It is perfidious, but naive at the same time of the tacticians grouped in illegal structures of the former 'Solidarnosc,' in the KPN Confederation of Independent Poland, and the like, that they should try to ignite a political uproar by taking unscrupulous advantage of genuine dissatisfaction of worker crews, of dissatisfaction the causes of which are known and will have to be alleviated and removed.

"Those most noisy ones who embarked upon illegal strike action may be, because of their young age and short work experience, forgetful of the lesson of eight years ago.

"But prompters of various sorts and makes who are again very eager to associate with worker crews would know that the average Pole does not feel like having an uproar today," observes ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in conclusion.

Readers View 'Illegal' Strikes

AU2208171288 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
20-21 Aug 88 p 1

[Unsigned report: "Reflections for Today"]

[Excerpts] We have been reporting on illegal strikes in some plants for a few days now. The political setup of strikes, which we know from 1981, is returning. We asked our readers to state their views on that.

Zygnmunt Wojcik, writer and chairman of the Warsaw Branch of the Union of Polish Writers:

Like every creative individual, I am frightened by the fact that the opposition negates words such as "create," that is, "build" and "multiply." I have seen mines and know that miners' superhuman efforts deserve very high wages. [passage omitted]

Jozef Buszko, historian and professor of Krakow University:

I am sincerely worried and concerned about growing strikes. I know that the Polish workers movement, which has the most mature national traditions, has always regarded strikes as the ultimate weapon of the proletariat, because this weapon may provoke phenomena that deny the very purpose of a strike. The forces that go for strikes are not always aware of that very serious danger. [passage omitted]

Celina Major, a woman farmer from the village of Krzeslinki, Suchozebry Gmina, Siedlece Voivodship:

Life in the rural areas is not easy, but no one thinks of striking, because strikes produce nothing. [passage omitted]

Dr Jerzy Mielecki, head of a team in the department of social sciences in the Wroclaw Agricultural Academy:

The present attempts at strikes are connected with the fact that we have now real opportunities to conclude an anticrisis pact, but extremists are clearly against it and want to get under sail. The idea of the pact is obvious: To rescue our economy, the parties to the conflict want to agree to exclude the economy from the political struggle, because we do not want to hamstring ourselves.

He who refuses to honor this deal, which has been voluntarily accepted, and who instigates politically inspired strikes, he plays a foul game.

Proposals of Strikers Viewed

AU2208171988 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Aug 88 p 3

[PAP report: "The Strike at the 'July Manifesto' Mine"]

[Text] Katowice—The strike at the 'July Manifesto' mine in Jastrzebie-Zdroj, considered by the regional prosecutor to be illegal, is continuing. On the night of 16 to 17 August, the strikers modified their demands, formulating economic ones in addition to the political ones they had made, in other words a call for the return of "Solidarity." One notices that the strikers, many of whom are young, are becoming increasingly radical.

In the economic sphere, the strikers are calling for, among other things, a miners' wage increase of 2.21 times the national average, in other words about Z100,000 a month, plus a wage system whereby money earned between Monday and Friday should be equal to twice the national average.

Still in the economic sphere, the strikers have called for a 5-year reduction in the pension age of physical employees. One ought to bear in mind that according to the present rules, in force since 1982, a miner working at the coal face may retire after 25 years service. Right now, employees aged 43 may retire and they are doing so. Approving the strikers' postulate would mean retiring at age 38. In any case, only the Sejm can alter these rules. The coal mine director does not have the authority to decide on this.

Those observing the strike in Jastrzebie-Zdroj have serious doubts whether society is ready to accept proposals like these. Reservations are also caused by the demand that not only the miners underground should receive 14 salaries, but also surface employees, in other words cleaning ladies, telephonists, cooks, and clerical staff. The demand for an equal coal allowance for all miners, in other words 8 tonnes, also causes reservations, because then even miners living in workers hostels would receive the same amount.

Another totally unreal and incomprehensible postulate is that the same commodity should bear the same price everywhere in Poland. To implement this, first the government would have to stop the economic reform, and then reintroduce the order-directive system. Another postulate is that information about the strike should be made public. This requires no comment.

On 17 August, the following message was distributed to all the mines in the Rybnik-Jastrzebie group of mines, including the strikers at "July Manifesto":

"Fellow miners! As representatives of the trade unions of the mines in the Rybnik-Jastrzebie group and as members of the Federation of Miners' Trade Unions, we convey to you, for your consideration, the situation in which the trade union movement has found itself as a result of the strike at the "July Manifesto" mine. Today we are in the process of resolving a series of the most important problems and grievances besetting miners.

"Here are examples:

"The dateline for the restoration of the privileges of the Miners' Charter has been set at 1 September, 1988, with legal validity as of 1 August, 1988;

"By the end of this year, wage agreements will be restructured to take into account increased wages from Monday to Friday, and the increased wages for employees to whom Resolution 199 does not apply. There is a question that we must all answer: Now that the miners

have been informed about the method and date of introducing measures that are so important for us, does the strike at the "July Manifesto" mine constitute proper support for our effective work, or is it an organized effort to torpedo it?"

The appeal is signed by Andrzej Kublinski, Stefan Piwonski, Waclaw Martyniuk, and Alfred Welzman, among others.

At the "Morcinek" mine in Kaczyce, a part of the work force has come out on strike, presenting demands identical to those at "July Manifesto."

'Professional Opposition' Blamed

LD2308003288 Warsaw PAP in English 2330 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] Wroclaw, Aug. 22—The Wroclaw-based "SLOWO POLSKIE" paper carries a commentary contributed by its editor-in-chief Romuald Gomerski under the headline "Emissaries" in which he made public information about the arrival of emissaries of the professional opposition in Wroclaw to call for solidarity strikes in factories and enterprises. Excerpts:

"Several work establishments in Wroclaw phoned in about the arrival of emissaries of the professional opposition calling for solidarity strikes. We have received such signals from, among other places, Pafawag, the municipal transportation enterprise and Pilmet. People from the outside who encourage us to strike have nothing to lose. They do not share our lot. We must look after our own plant interest, and employee at Pafawag said."

"Pafawag has been entered some time ago on the list of bankrupts but has elaborated a sensible recovery program. Hopes have just sprung forth that it could be put on the right tracks."

'Constructive Alternative' Needed

LD2308013388 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Commentary by Marek Lewicki]

[Text] In Poland, with its some 30 million citizens, 18 million are paid wages. Of these, some 12.5 million are employed in the socialized economy. Approximately 0.2 percent are on strike. From a statistical point of view it is an insignificant figure. But I think you will agree, ladies and gentlemen, that yesterday some kind of psychological barrier was crossed between the industrious normality of weekdays and the point when speaking of public concern was justified.

It was signalled by the queues in front of the food shops and the increased—although not yet panic—buying of sugar, flour, salt, soap, washing powder. The bitter experience of 1980-81 is making itself felt. To those who do not remember those years—the young people from the works on strike, who at the time were 10, 11, or 12—it seems that ostentatious work stoppages are an exciting adventure. For us, the generation which has already lived through several sharp bends, strikes are a cause for deep concern about what the next day will bring. In conversations we ask one another: Which way are things going to go? Are they going to come to an agreement and is the abnormal situation going to return to normal or, on the contrary, is it going to spread even wider?

The situation is complex. In economic matters we know who can come to an agreement with whom—the workers with their managements. But in the reforming economy we have to ask ourselves about the limits within which such agreement is possible. The limits are determined by the financial state of the enterprise. Exceeding these limits threatens bankruptcy for the company, with all its negative consequences, for the work force, too. From the legal point of view, the unlawful nature of these strikes, which violated the principles of the Labor Law and the Trade Union Act, is also an obstacle to reaching agreement.

There are also demands which exceed the managements' powers. What is worse is that in some mines actions are being taken which not only violate legal and ethical norms, but are clearly dangerous for the very enterprises themselves and their work forces. Methane and water are no (?joke). Reports are also appearing about strike terror. They show that tensions and conflicts have appeared among the workers, even among the strikers themselves. The strikes are being accompanied by political demands. Here and there they are being placed at the top of the list of demands. This happens especially wherever strike committees include functionaries of the underground structures of the former Solidarity. And it is these attempts to (?push) the strikes, at the basis of which is dissatisfaction with the economic situation, into a political context that causes the most concern and comment, because the people are between the devil and the deep, blue sea.

For the man who is fighting—even using methods outside the law, but justly so in his opinion—for a better tomorrow, the choice between bureaucratic sluggishness and fanatical Solidarity is no choice at all. Today the need for a constructive alternative seems greater than ever before.

Sugar, Flour Panic Buying Predicted

LD2208145988 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1405 GMT 22 Aug 88

[From the "Music and Topics" program; Jerzy Kowalski commentary]

[Excerpt] The day which began the second week of strikes did not and could not bring anything good. The press is getting somewhat tired, and is not writing about the losses in the same detail as before. Daily life will take

over from the press. A little more time and the losses will come to us. We will experience their effects not as billions lost, but as shortages of hot water, electricity, or coal in farmers' stoves.

There is about to be another inconvenience—panic buying of flour and sugar. This is a normal defensive reaction. People who see the vision of the consequences of the strikes are not just worried, but terrified, and at the same time totally hopeless. Some are feeling some kind of satisfaction—and that is even more sad. [passage omitted]

Dangers Posed by Strikes Examined

AU2308093188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20-21 Aug 88 p 2

[Zygmunt Slomkowski commentary: "They Go Beyond Our Borders...."]

[Text] We can already calculate the first material losses caused by the work stoppage in the port of Szczecin. They are made up of delayed loading operations, the loads piling up on the piers, and the abandoned Polish transit facilities. Various conventional fines will also have to be counted. Altogether we will lose money, including convertible currency.

Every day of strikes in sensitive sectors of the economy such as coal mining (coal is our top export commodity) and sea transportation means not only fiscal losses and a reduced flow of convertible currencies, but also our increasing lack of credibility in the international markets and with our trade and fiscal partners.

Confidence plays an enormous role in international trade and in economic and fiscal relations. Partners must be certain that the other side will honor its obligations. The side that is unable to guarantee that will be thrown out of the race, but it is extremely difficult to win back credibility and lost partners. We know this for certain. We seem to have forgotten our experience of 1980-81, but is this only forgetfulness? Our traders and financiers had to make many efforts to recover credibility and the markets lost as a result of the 1980-81 events. A repeat of similar events may make it impossible to eliminate their results. After all, people are beginning to think that such events are a kind of law and not an accident.

Actually, this may cancel the achievements we have scored in this regard over the past several years, and may happen precisely at a time when our reforms call for extended international contacts, for increasing numbers of our trade and fiscal partners, and for attracting foreign capital to companies and other production units.

In other words, the favorable external conditions we have created with such great efforts for the better performance of our economy are in danger. This involves economic-fiscal as well as political conditions, because we know how some Western governments treat these two venues as a single whole. Political normalization has gradually opened up economic and fiscal outlets. One result of the strikes may be a political cooling off and a break in the normalization of our relations with our main Western partners, which may again block economic cooperation outlets. Even the May-April events temporarily disturbed the schedule for political talks, which are of enormous importance for our economic activities and the condition of our finances.

Everyone should be aware of the looming dangers, which should not be passed over in silence, because a moment will come when we will have to pay the bill for delaying our reforms, which are experiencing such hard going in any case, for reduced economic results, and for the gaps in the imports of materials and equipment for our economy. All our people, will have to pay, and not only the authorities as some individuals like to assert.

Today Poland is not some isolated island on the political and economic map of the world, especially the map of Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. Events in Poland often get front-page publicity in the world mass media as top news. Even if this news is subjected to political-propaganda manipulation in the West and to exaggerating some facts and phenomena so as to obscure other facts and phenomena, this publicity expresses the significance—however motley it may be—that the West attaches to Poland.

The socialist countries and the Western progressive forces and realistic bourgeois circles view Polish changes as part and parcel and, often, as a harbinger of socialist renewal and even of modernization or downright reconstruction of economic, political, and social structures. These processes have a healthy influence on relations among socialist countries, create a qualitatively new fiber of cooperation, and produce conditions for new aspects of cooperation as was so strongly asserted by M. Gorbachev's recent visit, which has become a new beacon for Polish-Soviet relations.

Some government establishments in the West take a different view of that. As a sponsor of democratic changes in socialism, Poland has become especially dangerous, on the one hand, and, on the other, has begun to be exploited by the programmatically antisocialist forces for the realization of their strategic plans. Poland's destabilization as well as unrest and economic disturbances have become an outright goal of those forces. No funds are sufficient to achieve that goal, for the sake of which entire organizations, including propaganda ones, continue to be set up and influence in international fiscal and economic bodies continues to be exploited.

This is because a weak Poland constitutes not only a gap in the socialist system, but also means profit for those who, afraid of socialist renewal and its international consequences, continue to proclaim that socialism is supposedly incapable of reforming itself. Also, a Poland that is weak and full of unrest and turmoil constitutes an

argument for those who, embedded in dogmas, continue to fight against renewal and perestroyka. In this way attempts are being made to kill several, often quite different, birds with the same single stone.

That is why we should know and bear in mind all that. We should be primarily aware that attempts are being made to use our country as a tool for a policy that is hostile to us now and in the long run, trades in our fate, and seeks to turn our country into a European Lebanon.

No matter what their range is, strikes and unrest go beyond our borders.

U.S., RFE Support Solidarity, Strikes

LD2208193288 Warsaw PAP in English
1855 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 22—Activists of the former Solidarnosc are trying different methods of pressure and encouragement to instigate strike actions and they are doing this not only directly but also through the Radio Free Europe [RFE] station. We hear that they are ready to pay daily rates lost by this part of miners and shipyard workers who are on strike.

This announcement is to serve as an encouragement to all those who hesitated and joined in the strike without much enthusiasm, frequently under the pressure of small groups led by agitators from outside.

A question emerges how can Solidarnosc activists afford to pay those daily rates. Obviously not by using membership fees for they have stopped to come in in practice. As it was stated by one of the former Solidarnosc activists in a RFE programme, the fees stopped to come in when the last political prisoners were freed. The assistance for those prisoners was the last argument which provoked the inflows of money from the former activists or fans.

So, where does the money come from. The answer has been given of late by THE NEW YORK TIMES: The July 10 issue said that over the last three years the U.S. had offered not less that five million dollar worth of financial and material assistance for opposition groups in Poland.

Western Media Disseminate False Data

LD2308092788 Warsaw PAP in English
0852 GMT 23 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 23—Truth-missing reports on strike situation in Poland can be encountered in Western media. For example, yesterday's AFP service reports a figure of 30 thousand miners on strike.

Now if numbers compiled by the ASSOCIATED PRESS agency were totalled, the resulting figure would be 8,300 striking miners. Also according to the AP compilation, 1,500 people of the 6,000 crew were on strike at the Andaluzja colliery. Meanwhile, a local PAP correspondent reported that the number of those on strike could be estimated as 500 of the 5,800 employed.

Whereas, last night on television Minister of Internal Affairs Gen. Kiszczak said some 500 thousand people were employed in mining industry.

"The total of some 5 thousand people are on strike at eleven mines, which means that hardly 7 per cent of crews at those collieries prevent over 65 thousand people from working," said Gen. Kiszczak.

A 45-strong group of tool-shop workers and some 80 other workers from various workshops continue a sit-in strike at the tool-room of the Stalowa Wola industrial plant, which employs 25 thousand including some 20 thousand at the steelworks alone.

"We are correcting the untrue data disseminated by Polish-speaking Western radio stations which reported that 3,000 people were on strike," said a Stalowa Wola plant spokesman.

These discrepancies speak for themselves.

Adam Michnik Analyzes State-Society Gap

AU2308083188 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German
22 Aug 88 pp 122-123

[Article by Polish historian and regime critic Adam Michnik: "Poland Is Facing a Change"]

[Text] The specter of a toilet paper roll is hovering over Poland—a dream for almost every family, that cannot come true.

Several months ago, one of the newspapers wrote about a private entrepreneur who intended to produce this rare article, and finally had to give up because the enrichment tax imposed upon him was too discouraging. The basic idea of a country building communism had prevailed. Toilet paper continues to be in short supply. That is the result of our policy of martial law.

According to the PZPR opinion research center, no more than 5 percent of the people have confidence in the present government team.

Regarding per-capita income, Poland ranks last among the European countries. No data is known about Albania.

It seems to be quite certain that once again Poland is facing a change. The danger of another revolt is confirmed by private hints, new strikes, and even highly official statements, accompanied by the apprehensive question: When? This autumn?

Predicting times of social explosion is not my speciality. However, provoking them is an indisputable speciality of the Communists ruling Poland.

The policy of martial law which was initiated on 13 December 1981 has failed. We also hear this diagnosis more and more often by people from the government camp. Hopes for an economic recovery under tank and police protection have not materialized, no more than dreams about the magic effect of credits from the West. In addition, the changes in the Soviet Union have thwarted hopes for a mechanical reconstruction of the Stalinist system.

What is left is a hybrid: debilitated Stalinist structures vis-a-vis debilitated institutions of a citizens' society amidst a ruined economy and growing areas of misery.

So far, the Jaruzelski team has incessantly talked about reform, but has instead ceaselessly expanded its instruments of repression. The Poles responded to its latest reformist declarations by boycotting local elections.

There was something paradoxical in it, because possibly these very statements on reform—implying the realization that things cannot go on like this—contained a real element for the first time.

Yet, goodwill alone is not sufficient. What is necessary is a business-like assessment of the ratio of forces, which in Poland is such that the government is supported by the opponents of reform, whereas the willingness to implement reforms is represented by those forces who are opposed to the government.

In simple terms: In Poland, just like in the USSR, opposition to reform is put up by the nomenclatura, a broad class of the bureaucratic power apparatus, because the goal of reform consists in ever broader areas of public life being saved from the omnipotence of parasitic bureaucracy. If the nature of antireformist forces is not absolutely clear, every reform program is pure rhetoric. If the state leadership is not supported by society, it will not be able to break the opposition of the nomenclatura.

Wojciech Jaruzelski is not supported by society at all. For the Poles he is now not only the architect of the policy of martial law, but also the chief of a government team which has wasted 7 long years. The Poles also hold him responsible for the unrealistic concept of a historic compromise between the Communist nomenclatura and the Catholic Church.

According to statements made by representatives of the apparatus, this historic compromise was supposed to replace understanding with the "Solidarity" trade union. Such a concept proves the total lack of understanding for the phenomenon of the Catholic Church in Poland.

The church has great authority; it is the defender of human dignity and human rights. However, it is not, and it does not want to be, the defender of political goals. The church's function is a metapolitical one. It is not a party in the political conflict.

The opposition of society, its attitude of refusal toward the present state leadership are expressed in different forms. One of them is the continuing urge to emigrate. The queues of people lining up in front of the Western embassies in Warsaw bear appalling witness to the government policy.

The almost incredible corruption is a pathological abreaction of the widespread aversion to the system—another form of protest.

On the other hand, political opposition, which has been doggedly fought by the state power, is the least threatening form of protest; moreover, it opens up prospects for compromise.

However, recent years have shown that the Jaruzelski team is not interested in people who are ready for compromise; it is much rather interested in collaborators. The orientation toward collaboration has additionally paralyzed the power apparatus and prolonged the crisis.

Therefore, anyone in Poland striving for reforms must remember the slogans formulated by the strike committees and Lech Walesa: "No freedom without the 'Solidarity' trade union!" This slogan, together with the accompanying demand for an anticrisis pact, has meanwhile become the subject of a dispute on principle in the government camp.

Whereas there was a genuine contest in Stalinist phraseology in the government camp following the December 1981 events, we now see the contrary: People of the apparatus, including even those who traditionally agree with the party bigwigs, are trying to outdo each other in statements that are virtually overflowing with anti-Stalinist liberalism as well as with concerns about pluralism.

That is not puzzling. The decay of state power has always been an accompanying factor of political changes of a system. The recent signals cannot be ignored. The fact that

—the economic crisis and environmental catastrophe have been talked about in public;

—an entire assortment of new periodicals has been founded which have been launched by the Interior Ministry and flirt with liberal slogans; censorship and freedom of movement have been eased;

—"Solidarity" leader Jan Bujak has been permitted to set up a foundation in Ursus for supporting large families;

—official trade unions are joining the workers' protest movement; all this means that the monolithic state of the government camp is coming to an end.

However, it also means that a major part of the power apparatus has realized that the changes in the Soviet Union are a lasting process and not cosmetic measures that could be ignored, or an episode that could be sat out.

Therefore, a process of adjustment and reinsurance began in the party - state leadership, in case there were new, possible changes.

Some people from the power apparatus have said in private talks that a meeting between Jaruzelski and Walesa is in the offing—something that government spokesman Urban has persistently denied, however. What does that mean? What does it mean that they are now trying to replace the formula of the "anticrisis pact" by the formula of a "proreformist coalition?"

What is hidden behind the changed vocabulary is a dispute about the essence of the matter. An anticrisis pact can only be formed by sociopolitically relevant subjects. A prerequisite for such a pact is the official recognition of the "Solidarity" trade union's right of existence. However, a proreformist coalition is nothing but another appeal to the people to rally around Jaruzelski.

Twenty years ago this idea would not have been absurd. The concept of communism with a human face, as pursued by the Prague reformers, succeeded in winning over the overwhelming majority of Czechs and Slovaks. But at the time, Brezhnev-type Stalinism was strengthening its position in the USSR.

At the time, the idea of a proreformist coalition with a human face failed. What we want today, is a Poland with a human face. A Poland without communism, which, in our view, will remain a system in which man will continue to be the property of the state and the state will continue to be the property of the nomenclatura.

The nomenclatura is vigorously defending its positions and privileges. Jaruzelski will not risk an open conflict with the apparatus, he will not tackle the analysis of the past 20 years, those years of stagnation and crises, that have brought about the current state of disintegration in our country.

Thus, we will be witnesses to a hopeless new mock reform, a reform without Solidarity. In fact, Jaruzelski is speculating on the poor shape of Solidarity, on internal rifts, and the possibility of isolating individual persons or groups.

He speculates on the popularity of his phrase that the Polish renewal is more or less equal to perestroyka in the Soviet Union. It was exactly this and nothing else that Mikhail Gorbachev said during his most recent visit to Poland when he promised to support the general.

The imminent change also involves a certain challenge. Will the Polish parents be capable of becoming aware of the far-reaching significance of the times that are coming? Will their political imagination be sufficient?

The government views the unusual international climate as a threat. It forces the government to stop its empty talk about renewal and to break with the antireformist inflexibility which finds its expression in anti-Solidarity obsession. Within the party apparatus, the spirit of Brezhnev, the spirit of stagnation that led to the policy of martial law is struggling against the spirit of reform. Who will win?

But it is also a turning point for the parents of Solidarity. The trade union has a long history, interrupted by the decisive date of 13 December 1981. The strategy adopted during the legal time was different from that adopted during the epoch of martial law. Now the time has come to seek new ways of thinking and acting.

What is important is to prepare a Solidarity program for the time of perestroyka. It must be a program that takes into consideration both the international reality and the specific Polish reality. The nature of this new thinking must be characterized by a vision aimed at reforming the system, the vision of a revolution: from the Stalinist order to a democratic order.

The most recent European history offers an example: Spain's path from dictatorship toward democracy. The victory of the Spanish democracy was also preceded by an anti-crisis pact aimed at political reforms, which determined the rules of the compromise and led to democratic election regulations.

Will the elite of Polish Communism be capable of developing a similar imagination as the Franco elite at the time? Will the Solidarity elite be capable of showing a similar readiness for compromise as the Spanish opposition at the time?

This includes the question whether real existing communism will turn out to be as capable of reform as the Franco regime. To stick to the truth, the answer is more characterized by skepticism than by hope.

Ceausescu, Wife Attend National Day Reception
AU2208201688 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1838 GMT 22 Aug 88

["Reception on Romania's National Day"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 22/08/1988—On August 22 in the evening, Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary and Romania's president, and Mrs Elena Ceausescu attended a reception given by the CC of the RCP and the State Council to mark August 23—the Romanian people's national day.

The reception was also attended by full and candidate members of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, secretaries of the CC of the RCP, members of the Party Central Committee, of the State Council and of the government, party members since the years of underground activity, participants in the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation of August 1944, veterans of the antihitlerite war, executives of mass and public organizations, generals, men of science and letters, heads of religious denominations, journalists.

Present were also heads of diplomatic missions accredited in Bucharest, military attaches, as well as guests from abroad.

Those present warmly congratulated President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu on Romania's national day.

Officials Attend National Day Ceremonies
AU2208201188 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1756 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 22/8/1988—Wreath laying ceremonies took place in Bucharest, in marking the 44th anniversary of the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation of August 23, 1944, at the Memorial to the Heroes of the Struggle for the Freedom of the People and the Homeland, for Socialism, at the Memorial to the Homeland's Freedom and the Memorial to the Soviet Heroes.

Wreaths were laid in behalf of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of Romania, the CC of the RCP, the State Council and the Government of Romania, the Ministry of National Defence, the Ministry of the Interior, the Central Council of the General Trade Union Confederation of Romania, the CC of the UCY [Union of Communist Youth], the Council of the Union of Communist Student Associations of Romania and the National Council of the Young Pioneers' Organization, the Bucharest Municipal People's Council, the People's Council of the Bucharest Municipality, the Committee of Former Anti-fascist War Combatants and Veterans.

Groups of young pioneers laid bunches of flowers.

The ceremonies were attended by Emil Bobu, Gheorghe Oprea, Ludovic Fazekas, Stefan Andrei, Nicolae Giosan, Colonel General Vasile Milea, Tudor Postelnicu, Constantin Radu, Ioan Toma, members of the CC of the RCP, of the State Council and of the government, active and reserve generals, former commanders of units at the anti-Hitler front, heads of central institutions, mass and public organizations, working people in Bucharest enterprises and institutions.

The state anthem of the Socialist Republic of Romania was played.

The state anthems of the USSR and of the Socialist Republic of Romania were played at the Memorial to the Soviet Heroes where Y.M. Tyazhelnikov, ambassador of the Soviet Union in Bucharest, and members of his embassy were present.

After the wreaths were laid, the attendance observed a minute's silence.

Companies of honour then passed by.

The same day, wreaths were laid at the cemetery of the British military who died in Romania in the fight against fascism, in behalf of President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania, of the State Council and of the Government of Romania, the Ministry of National Defence and the Bucharest Municipal People's Council. A group of young pioneers laid bunches of flowers.

The ceremony was attended by Manea Manescu, vice-president of the State Council, Neculai Ibanescu, deputy prime minister, Dumitru Apostoiu, presidential and State Council secretary, ministries, representatives of central institutions, generals and officers, other officials.

Alan Clark, charge d'affaires a.i. of Great Britain in Bucharest and members of his embassy were present.

A military company presented arms. The state anthems of Great Britain and Romania were played.

After the wreath laying, the attendance observed a minute's silence. The company of honour passed by in rounding off the ceremony.

Similar ceremonies took place in numerous localities across the nation.

Ceausescu, Wife Inaugurate Bucharest Work Site
AU1908200988 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1921 GMT 19 Aug 88

["President Nicolae Ceausescu Inaugurates Construction Works on a New Representative Edifice in Romania's Capital"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 19/08/1988—On 19 August, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu laid the foundation stone of the centre of the National Councils of Revolutionary Worker Democracy, a public edifice of national importance that adds to Bucharest's heritage.

During a ceremony held at the CC of the RCP Headquarters, Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu signed the scroll to be laid at the foundation of the new building in a stainless-steel cylinder.

Designed by a group of experts, the imposing complex will include a hall for 12,000 for political and wide-scope cultural events, a multifunctional hall for 2,000, as well as numerous other halls to serve multiple purposes.

Seeing round the building site of the new edifice, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu symbolically cast a scoop of concrete as a sign of the official inauguration of the building works.

Next the president visited the Dimbovita River development site, the square at the end of the grand "Victory of Socialism" Boulevard, as well as the building site of the "House of the Republic", a monumental building on which construction works have entered an advanced stage.

Ceausescu Visits Arges River Construction Site

AU2108152488 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1435 GMT 21 Aug 88

["President Nicolae Ceausescu Visits Units at the Construction Site for Complex Development of the Arges River"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 21/08/1988—Sunday, 21 August, RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, president of Romania, and Mme Elena Ceausescu visited two important units of the construction site for the complex development of the Arges River—the large storage lake and hydrotechnic point Mihailesti-Cornetu, and the port "Bucharest 30 Decembrie".

The complex development of the Arges, an ample operation, is particularly important from the economic and social points of view. The leading effects of materializing this grandiose project will be an efficient use of the resources of this catchment for navigation, irrigation, power generation, supplying water to certain localities and economic units, fighting soil erosion, preventing floods on large areas and developing leisure spots. The new waterway will be a direct link between Bucharest and the Danube, which will turn the transportation of goods easier and cheaper and help the zones in the proximity of the navigable part of the Arges to be developed.

Visiting were full and alternate members of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, secretaries of the party Central Committee.

The visit started at the hydrotechnical point no. five, near the Cornetu commune, where a presentation was made of the leading features of this vast operation whose initial project has been improved as superior constructive solutions have been considered.

The builders have reported that prior to the great national celebration of the Romanian people the basic construction work in the Mihailsti-Cornetu zone is over. The large reservoire, now fully completed, is soon to attain the projected level. Currently sustained work is under way to build a microhydroelectric project which is to add to others planned to be built upstream, up to Oltenita.

Appreciating the builders' achievements, the party general secretary recommended that an efficient solution be chosen to bring water from this reservoire and from other nearby points to the lake which is to be developed in the Vacaresti zone (South Bucharest), by means of an open canal which may also be used to do irrigation.

Also examined were a number of questions related to the development of the Sabar and Ciorogirla Rivers, speeding up the preparations for irrigations, creating leisure facilities and embellishing this zone.

Next, at Mihailesti Commune, aspects were presented related to the organization and modernization of this locality with a view to urbanization. It was asked that the agricultural land between the locality and the right bank of the reservoire be most judiciously used by creating fruit plantations and vegetable gardens.

The visit continued at the construction site of the port "Bucharest-30 Decembrie", a particularly important unit within the complex development of this river.

Here, after the completion of infrastructure and embankment operations at the dock and the passage to building the pier platforms—for raw materials, general goods, cereals and passengers—the new unit has taken a growingly precise shape, and operations proceed in due course. Currently, draglines are preparing the dock. Also concluded are operations at the superstructure of the shipping pier and a passage has been done to placing the flooring of some of the berths in position. Also completed is the railway which is to link the future port "Bucharest-30 Decembrie" to the line surrounding the capital city.

President Nicolae Ceausescu appreciated these results, showing that firm action must be further taken, properly organized and fully capitalizing on the favourable weather, in order to implement under best circumstances the tasks set, so that this unit may be commissioned on time.

Talking with heads of the youth brigades, President Nicolae Ceausescu asked about the working and living conditions of the youth coming from all the counties in order to participate in the materialization of these particularly ample operations.

Further Reportage on Titograd Rally

SAWP Statement Before Rally

LD1808203888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1613 GMT 18 Aug 88

[Excerpt] Pristina, 18 Aug (TANJUG)—The Kosovo SAWP does not support the activity of any group, committee, or individual who does not wish to join the united action led by the LC because splitting forces has grave and negative consequences.

This is emphasized in the statement by the Presidium of the Kosovo SAWP Provincial Conference in connection with the announcement that a group of Serbian and Montenegrin citizens will attend protest meetings outside Kosovo. The statement, issued today, says:

"In connection with the announcement and contacts by the so-called committee for the organization of meetings in places and environments outside the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and the queries whether this is being done within the framework of the Kosovo SAWP, the Presidium of the Kosovo SAWP today held consultations with the Presidiums of municipal conferences of the SAWP of Pristina and Urosevac. It was established that no citizen, either individually or as a group, had approached the SAWP provincial organs or organs of these municipalities and that, therefore, nobody is empowered to make such contacts on their behalf.

The Presidium of the SAWP Provincial Conference has recently adopted a program of activity and measures for stabilizing the political and security situation in the spirit of the stands and conclusions of the LCY Central Committee, the Serbian LC Central Committee, and the LC provincial committee, as well as the stands of the Presidium of the SAWPY Federal Conference." [passage omitted]

Veteran Previews Meeting

AU1908204688 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] A protest meeting to show solidarity with the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo will begin in Titograd at 1200 tomorrow. On the eve of this gathering, Djordje Vlajic interviews Vasilije Milutinovic, president of the Titograd Veterans Federation.

[Begin recording] [Vlajic] The Titograd gathering is being prepared, one may say, in the context of the stances of the 16th plenum of the LCY Central Committee that such protest meetings are an undemocratic aspect of pressure on legal institutions of the system, and on the other side, of the freely expressed will of the people to meet and to speak about the problems that press them. Comrade Milutinovic, how did you in Titograd succeed in reconciling this contradiction?

[Milutinovic] Regarding the implementation or nonimplementation of the conclusions of the 16th session of the LCY Central Committee on the question of protest meetings, on which the political factors in the city have decisively made pronouncements, I may say the following:

I am not against these conclusions. However, it is not sufficient to say that the actual situation in Kosovo is a problem, but it is the greatest human tragedy of our peoples and others, considering all the conditions and circumstances under which it is developing. After 1981, the changing of cadres in Kosovo was carried out, and it was supposed that people would be made responsible for not fulfilling the expectations, considering that emigration continued even more intensively.

Continuous silence by ethnic Albanian intelligentsia and the inefficiency of cadres in solving problems have objectively made a greater contribution to emigration than all possible kinds of exposed irredentists. The irredentists are implacable, and the greatest amount of emigration continues precisely when the strongest decisions are adopted, as for instance after the ninth session of the LCY Central Committee.

In the light of these facts and circumstances, (?and considering) the disunity in the top state and party leadership that has not yet been overcome, when an ethnically pure Kosovo can already be discerned, the people of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality are also becoming implacable and are taking over the initiative—now that the leadership has failed to do so—with the following basic motives: That such meetings may contribute to the greatest possible mobilization of all the progressive forces in the country on solving the Kosovo problem, and that such meetings may show their significance as support for the Central Committee conclusions; that such support influences the solving of the constitutional position of Serbia so that Serbia may function as a single state on all its territory and may thus be made equal to other republics, which has not been the case so far and which was one of the chief causes for the counterrevolution breaking out and escalating in Kosovo.

Therefore, the facts of the Kosovo tragedy to outdo all tragedies, unprecedented even under the Ottomans, which unfortunately exists in a modern society, are shocking because they are connected with the daily loss of life and suffering by tens of thousands of people, without whose presence in Kosovo there is no Kosovo, so that these facts in their essence and content are much stronger than any and all formal conclusions, bearing in mind the demands of the Serbs and Montenegrins of Kosovo that are highly humane and imbued with such strong moral justice that there is no force that could oppose them or that could prevent them.

Therefore, in my opinion, such a decision was made at the meeting today so that both the form and the content are satisfied. [end recording]

Belgrade Radio Reports Meeting

AU2008172188 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Report by Djordje Vlajic and Jagos Stojanovic from Titograd]

[Text] [Recording of crowd chanting Yu-go-slavia] This is Titograd, Ivan Milutinovic Square, and the time is 1200. A crowd of Serbs and Montenegrins arriving from Kosovo has gathered here, and together with people who have come from all parts of Montenegro, they cannot be quieted in their demand that the Kosovo drama should be solved more rapidly. They cannot be quieted even when Vida Knezevic, the leading person of the SAWP of Titograd, mounts the rostrum. The masses continue to speak.

[Begin Knezevic recording, the roar of the crowd in the background] It is with great concern that we have been following the events since the beginnings of the counterrevolution and we have been sympathizing with the drama of all the honorable citizens of Kosovo who are on the side of self-management. [chanting "Kosovo is Serbia"] [end recording]

The meeting was somewhat more quiet when Miroslav Solovic, of the Kosovo Organizational Committee, spoke:

[Begin Solovic recording] Montenegrin people! Now one can see that the soul of the Montenegrin people has spoken. The presence of these people has said everything that has to be said. [cheers] Only politically blind men will not understand this message. [cheers, applause] I want to say to you than no single Montenegrin, none of you gathered here, can feel free while a part of your people do not live in freedom. [cheers] When I say this I have in mind the part of the Montenegrin people who together with us Serbs live without freedom in Kosovo. I have in mind the part of the Montenegrin people who in the SR of Albania live under even less freedom. [cheers]

It is an obligation, not just a right of you, Montenegrins, and all of us Yugoslavs; it is our obligation that we exert fierce pressure on all in this state who do not raise these issues. This country has given full equality to the Albanians in this country. We demand the same for our brothers in Albania. [end recording]

The meeting was then addressed by Dr Svetomir Arsic Basara, a veteran of the National Liberation War and AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] Prize winner.

[Begin Arsic recording] We have not come here to incite people to rebel or to cause ill will, as some individuals and certain circles are trying to say, but we have come to inform you through a direct contact of solidarity that the national being of the Serbian and Montenegrin people in Kosovo and Metohija is endangered to the limit of (?endurance). [cheers] The word pressure is now extremely cynical; what we are talking about are pogroms and genocide.

The circumstance that we are in a community where valor and heroism, righteousness, and all the things noble that distinguish man have been the only yardstick of humanism and the price of freedom, in this small but great Montenegro [cheers], the tradition imposes on us the obligation of honor and truth. I am convinced that you know what is happening in the region of Kosovo and Metohija, not only since the counterrevolution of the Albanian chauvinists and separatists broke out. Therefore I will not moan. In this region, genocide against the Serbs and Montenegrins who live in Kosovo has been (?perpetrated) for a long time, as well as against the Turks, Muslims, Croats, Macedonians, and other peoples and nationalities who happen to be in our region. This has been going on for decades. Until the outbreak of the counterrevolution, silence was maintained about all this. It is a matter of treason, brazen and premeditated treason, under the cloak of renaissance and prosperity of the Albanian national minority, or more precisely nationality.

This is the real truth. Only those who consider the SR of Serbia and the Serbian and Montenegrin people living in it a constant target for their hostile (?activities) close their eyes to it. [end recording]

Against a constant background of words, songs, and slogans about devotion to a unified Yugoslavia, the Republic of Serbia, and security in Kosovo, the last speaker at this gathering was Branislav Kovacevic, member of the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the SAWP of Montenegro.

[Begin Kovacevic recording] The situation in Kosovo and the fate of the members of the Serbian and Montenegrin people living in Kosovo increasingly cause indignation and deepest concern of every honest Yugoslav the longer they continue. [cheers] We in Montenegro have never reconciled ourselves to this situation and we shall never reconcile ourselves to it. [cheers] For us, the Kosovo situation (?has been) a Yugoslav problem in the fullest meaning of the word. It is impossible to consider Yugoslavia stable and not endangered, and to consider our political system and the achievements of the revolution secure, as long as counterrevolution is waged in any of its parts, the constitutionality and legality are denied and most grossly violated, and the territorial integrity of our country is most directly attacked. [end recording]

On behalf of Titograd citizens, Vida Knezevic, president of the SAWP Communal Conference, asked the Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins present to convey to the province the deepest support of the Montenegro people and their firm determination to end the exodus of the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo and to enable them to live a normal and secure life.

The excited people demanded throughout the meeting that Batric Jovanovic should speak, and they were again addressed by Miroslav Solovic who informed the Kosovo participants that on the return to the province, the column will stop in Kolasin where a meeting will also be held.

[Begin Solovic recording] I would like to ask all the citizens who in such imposing numbers have shown what they think and have demonstrated not only to the Republic of Montenegro but to the entire Yugoslav public that we are right [cheers], that our rightful cause must win [cheers], I ask you to disperse with dignity, so that some people—and you know who they are—may not be able to use a single bad word against us. [cheers]

Once again we express thanks to the brotherly people of Montenegro for their support. Long live the LCY! [cheers] Long live the LC of Serbia! [cheers] Long live the LC of Montenegro! [cheers] Long live Yugoslavia! [cheers] [The crowd sings: Comrade Tito, We Swear to Thee] [end recording]

After the conclusion of the protest meeting, Batric Jovanovic spoke at the request of those gathered in front of the Crna Gora Hotel, where snacks and refreshments were served to the Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins. Jovanovic said among other things that the Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins can leave Titograd satisfied, for they enjoy Montenegro's full support. I am convinced, Batric Jovanovic said, that the comrades in the Central Committee will comprehend that the battle for Yugoslavia is being waged in Kosovo. The SR of Serbia can win, and wants to win this battle.

Batric Jovanovic proposed that an appeal be sent to the LCY Central Committee and the SFRY Presidency that they should unconditionally support the constitutional changes in Serbia, because these are an essential prerequisite for stability of Yugoslavia.

Batric Jovanovic Speaks

AU2108141588 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Excerpts] We have reported that a meeting of solidarity with Serbs and Montenegrins of Kosovo was held in Titograd today. Over 30,000 citizens from all parts of Montenegro, and several hundred people from Kosovo-Metohija and Vojvodina gathered at Ivan Milutinovic Square in the center of Titograd. [passage omitted]

After a 1-hour meeting in Ivan Milutinovic Square, several tens of thousands of people marched toward Crna Gora Hotel, incessantly chanting, We Want Batric. EKSPRES [Belgrade POLITIKA EKSPRES] correspondents report that Titograd people carried Batric Jovanovic shoulder high, wishing in this way to pay tribute to a man who had contributed a great deal so that the truth about Kosovo might reach the public.

It should be remarked, EKSPRES reporters say, that security organs did not allow Batric Jovanovic even to reach the rostrum, for they said that it had not been arranged in advance for him to speak. Militiamen even exaggerated by their rough behavior in their wish to prevent excesses.

It was only in the Crna Gora Hotel garden that Batric Jovanovic addressed the people and was given ovations. He said that a battle for Yugoslavia is being fought in Kosovo and that Serbia should win this battle. He proposed that a telegram be sent to both the state Presidency and the party Presidium requesting these organs support, at an extraordinary session, the draft amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia.

According to Batric Jovanovic, the plenum decisions on Kosovo are intentionally watered down by those leaders who were against establishing Fadilj Hodza's responsibility. It is high time that double office holding in Kosovo provincial leadership should be abolished, Batric Jovanovic said.

At the request of those gathered, the crowd together with Batric Jovanovic moved to the public address system used by the pop group Euridika in the evening. The members of the group at once set up the amplifiers, but electricity was promptly switched off, which caused indignation and protests by the gathered crowd. They shouted: We want electricity, and This is not Novi Sad.

Accompanied by thousands of Titograd, Ivangrad, Cetinje, Bar, Budva, Hercegnovi, and Niksic people, the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, together with people from Vojvodina, drove to Kolasin in a column several kilometers long.

It was agreed in Titograd that a meeting would be held in Niksic on 18 September.

Protest Banners Described

AU2208130788 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Aug 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Banners"]

[Text] Among the hundred or so banners which were carried by citizens during the meeting in Titograd on 20 August, the ones which appeared most frequently were: "Stamp out tyranny," "Damn the souls of the big bosses, they have sown the seeds of dissent," "Freedom to the people of Kosovo," "We want to fight, we do not want to

emigrate," "Why at 11, when it is already 1 minute to 12," "We are for AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugolavia] decisions," "Zarkovic, where are your grass roots?" "Milosevic, we are with you," and "Kosovo is Yugoslavia."

Kosovo Committee Asks To Hold Slovene Rally

LD2208194288 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1550 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] Pristina, August 22 (TANJUG)—The Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins' organising committee for gatherings and protest rallies in other parts of Yugoslavia proposed today to organise a rally of solidarity in Slovenia's capital Ljubljana.

The proposal was submitted to the Slovenian Socialist Alliance Presidency.

The committee organised solidarity rallies with Serbs and Montengrins in Novi Sad, Pancevo and Nova Pazova in the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and in Titograd and Kolasin in Montengro Republic.

Serbs and Montengrins from Yugoslavia's Autonomous Province of Kosovo, inhabited mainly by ethinic Albanians, protest over their increasingly difficult position and pressure from Albanian chauvinists and separatists. The pressure has caused over 30,000 Serbs and Montengrins to migrate from the province over the past seven years.

The committee's proposal to the Slovenian socialist alliance leadership said that 1,000 Kosovo Serbs and Montengrins would take part in the rally to disclose the situation in the province in direct contacts with the Slovenian people.

The proposal said that the participants from Kosovo be given accomodation in Slovenians' homes enabling Slovenians to become better acquainted with conditions of life in the province. [sentence as received]

The committee also proposed another possibility: that the Slovenian socialist alliance send 1,000 Slovenians to Kosovo Polje where they would be given accomodation in Kosovo inhabitants homes.

A rally of solidarity would be organised in Kosovo Polje where representatives of the Slovenians and of Kosovo socio-political organisations would speak.

The organising committee requested that the [passage indistinct].

Contents of Telegram Reported

AU2208141688 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] The president of the Republican Conference of the Slovene SAWP today received the following message:

Comrade President, could you please inform all the members of the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Slovene SAWP of the content of this telegram. This is the beginning of the telegram sent by the Organization Committee of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo and Metohija. The telegram was signed on behalf of the committee by its President Mico Sparavalo, retired colonel and war medal recipient. Here is what is said in the telegram:

We propose that on one of the coming Saturdays the Republican Conference of the Slovene SAWP organize a meeting of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo and Metohija with the Slovene people so that we could present our situation in direct contact with the people and hear what ordinary Slovenes think about this.

We propose that you allow the meeting of solidarity with our suffering and that this meeting be open to all the Slovenes who want to attend it. We would also like that, in addition to the representatives of sociopolitical organizations, several Slovenes and one of our representatives be allowed to speak. The meeting would be attended by 1,000 people from Kosovo who would come by the Brotherhood and Unity train, and who would be provided accommodation by 1,000 Slovene families so that in direct talks with their hosts they could explain the present situation.

We also propose an alternative.

You could send 1,000 Slovenes to Kosovo and Metohija by the Brotherhood and Unity train where we would meet them at Kosovo Polje and organize a solidarity meeting.

Could you please reply to our proposal by the end of this week.

These were excerpts from the telegram the Organization Committee of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo and Metohija has sent to the president of the Republican Conference of the Slovene SAWP.

Kosovo Polje SAWP Discusses Grievances

AU2108145188 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 17 Aug 88 p 5

[TANJUG report: "The Political Situation—Exceptionally Serious"]

[Text] At the meeting of the Kosovo Polje 17th Local Community Second SAWP Branch the evening before last, the recent attempted rape of a local girl of Serbian nationality by Naser Sogojeva was considered to be a premeditated hostile act and a nationalist act aimed against Serbs and Montenegrins.

About 300 inhabitants from this local community and the surrounding area gathered in the local primary school, although there were no participants of Albanian

nationality apart from Shahin Idrizaj, president of the SAWP branch. He too condemned this barbaric assault, and took a serious view of the failure of his fellow-Albanians to come to the meeting, so that everybody together could speak out against such crimes. Those present also took seriously the fact that representatives of the security forces had not come to the previous evening's gathering in order to inform citizens about the incident in more detail, although they had been invited.

In the discussion, the local security situation was judged to be very bad, while intranational relations have reached the highest possible level of disturbance. How long, it was said, must we endure terror, and such barbaric deeds which have emptied so many Serbian and Montenegrin houses? People are fleeing from such violence, and nobody is being held responsible for it.

At the meeting, views were also heard justifying the visits of Serbian and Montenegrin citizens to Novi Sad and Pancevo. The possibility of going to Titograd was also put forward.

[The following "R.T."-attributed passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Why Was RILINDJA Not Invited [subhead]

Journalists of the daily RILINDJA were also not invited to take part in this meeting of the Kosovo Polje 17th Local Community. This was not the first time this has happened, for it is has almost become the rule for RILINDJA not to be invited to the various meetings organized in Kosovo Polje in order to be able to follow the meetings and report their proceedings. This is especially true of the 16th and 17th Local Community SAWP branches, in contrast to the LC organizations and the Action Conference and its Presidium, who inform RILINDJA of all their meetings and their activity.

The reasons for the failure to invite RILINDJA journalists must be examined by the Kosovo Polje SAWP authorities themselves, because the present situation means that we are unable to supply correct and punctual reporting to the Kosovo readers, and that publishing houses are put in unequal positions. [End of boxed passage]

Zubin Potok LC on Separatists, Kosovo

LD1908201988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1417 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] Zubin Potok, 19 Aug (TANJUG)—Attacks on the property, honor, and integrity of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo continue. The Albanian separatists do not even leave graves in peace. Rape, Arson, and a general state of insecurity prevail in almost all parts of Kosovo, and also aggravate the political situation and security in the Zubin Potok Municipality, where Serbs are in the majority. The inhabitants of Albanian nationality in the neighboring municipalities of Srbica and Istok constantly attack property belonging to the Serbs in the outlying villages of this municipality. Fields belonging to the inhabitants of the Brnjak local community are being damaged and timber is stolen from the forests. Also, the public security organs are inefficient. Up to know, they have not yet charged a single person. The grave situation in Kosovo, continuing emigration, and disrupted intranational relations demand urgent and radial changes, especially in the provincial leadership and wider afield. This was stated at today's Zubin Potok LC Municipal Committee session.

Becir Kurti said that in his local community, Cabra, the Serbs and the Albanians have good relations. However, Kurti added, these good intranational relations in the village are affected by the attacks carried out by Albanian separatists against the Serbs and Montenegrins in other places in Kosovo. He asked: Why are the civil rights of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo not ensured, and why do the attacks against them continue? Slobodan Prodanovic said that there were too many conclusions that have no effect on the situation in Kosovo. Prodanovic blamed the highest leaders, who contributed to the breakout of counterrevolution in Kosovo, while they proclaim any attack on their work as an attack on the system, revolution, and society. Many top leaders of Yugoslavia contributed more to the release of those three [as received] From prison in Slovenia than to the solution of the drama in Kosovo. By this I mean Bozidar Colakovic, who is our cadre. He should show greater interest in Kosovo, Prodanovic said. He added that Bosko Krunic, former LCY Central Committee President, and Petar Matic, present president of SUBNOR [Federation of War Veterans' Associations], had not sufficiently strived to resolve the situation in Kosovo.

Miloje Obradovic said that while Zubin Potok was suffering a water shortage in almost 40 degrees of heat, the Ibar-Lepenac Canal hydrosystem was diverting enormous amounts of water from Lake Gazivode to parts of Kosovo. Baskim Kabasi, director of the work organization operating the canal, and an immigrant from Albania, did not want to receive a delegation which asked for a safe minimum of water to be left to Ibar. Milorad Tomovic and Bogoljub Bozovic said that untold injustices were committed when land was taken for the Ibar-Lepenac hydrosystem People were harassed and taken away in trucks in temperatures of minum 25 [centigrade].

There is no case in the history of a state that a people should have three states, and yet be left to itself, Rade Utvic said. Milomir Djurovic and Krsto Milic criticized the associated labor of Yugoslavia for not investing more in the development of Kolasin, which would prevent emigration. They emphasized that constant labeling of the Serbs who organize meetings contributed to the emigration from the province. Zivan Bozovic said that constitutional charges should be made immediately, and that the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs and the

Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs should be empowered to intervene in Kosovo because of the threat to the basic values of our society. Mirko Micovic said that those who made the counterrevolution possible, and Serbian Opportunists, like Milan Gvozdic, former president of the District Committee of the LC of Titova Mitrovica, still sit in the provincial leadership.

Milenko Petrovic, executive secretary of the Serbian LC Central Comittee Presidium, emphasized that the LCY Central Committee and the Serbian LC Central Committee noted at their recent sessions that personal and legal security and property of the people of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationality in Kosovo continues to be threatened. Numerous stands taken on Kosovo are still not being implemented. It is time that the stands on the settlement of the situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo begin to be implemented. The Kosovo problem is in the center of interest of all working people in the country, especially of those in Kosovo. It is well known that conclusions are being adopted unanimously at conferences and sessions, but since there are no results, somebody must be made to answer.

Petrovic said that more work must be done locally and in the basic organizations of associated labor and local communities, because living together is the condition of progress of the whole community. In Kosovo, according to Petrovic, it is necessary to strengthen the common front of the Serbs, Albanians, and all others, against separatism. There must be struggle against unscrupulous bureacracy, which makes possible the indoctrination of youth, supported by all parts of Yugoslavia. The basic organizations of the League of Communists and every communist have special tasks in this respect.

Speaking about the press, Milenko Petrovic said that thanks to it, many irregularities in Kosovo had come to light. The press has returned to the people confidence about the possibility of victory over the Albanian separatism. In his view, all municipal committee sessions of the League of Communists in Kosovo should be public.

Speaking about the increasing references to individual cadres, Petrovic expressed himself in favor of assessing the work of each individual publicly, and with evidence. The people in the SR of Serbia, Petrovic continued, are aware that constitutional changes are necessary. There have been those who opposed them but, under the pressure of arguments, they had to agree to changes. Petrovic said that there is still resistence, especially in the provinces. However, individual cadres in the provinces only say that they do not agree with some constitutional changes, without producing arguments for their stand.

I am also against the gathering of crowds of citizens, Milenko Petrovic said, but we must understand that people do not come together just for a prank. He commented on the meetings of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, and added: These are not meetings of one nationality, because even some comrades from Kosovo agreed that they are also attended by Muslims, Montenegrins, and Turks. The cause which lead to meetings must be eliminated, and then, of course, there will be no meetings.

Speaking about the initiative of the SAWP Municipal Conference of Zubin Potok to receive children from Prekale, near Istok, because their security in their environment is threatened and they cannot peacefully attend school, Petrovic said that he understood this gesture as a protest by the inhabitants of Ibarski Kolasin against the injustices committed by Albanian separatists against the Serbs in the Istok Municipality. However, Petrovic opposed moving children from Prekale to Zubin Potok. In his opinion, conditions should be created to keep the children at home and ensure their peaceful schooling. In this sense, Petrovic emhasized, political pressure must be put on the provincial leadership, as well as on the Istok municipal leadership, to ensure personal security for every citizen. In conclusion, Milenko Petrovic emphasized that there could be no stabilization in Kosovo without the establishment of responsibility of individual leaders. Some comrades must go, Milenko Petrovic concluded.

Prosecutor Confirms Reporting of Editor

LD2008164388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1205 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] Ljubljana, 20 Aug (TANJUG)—Ljubljana public prosecutor Boris Stadler has confirmed certain speculations on the reporting of the chief editor of NARODNA ARMIJA to the Belgrade Military Prosecutor's Office in Belgrade because of the "New Unscrupulous Speculations" article published in issue 2561 of this paper. Stadler reported the NARODNA ARMIJA chief editor because of a "suspected criminal act of spreading false information contrary to item 1, Article 218 of the Serbian Criminal Code." He sent the report and relevant documents to the Belgrade prosecutor's office at the beginning of the week.

In Stadler's opinion, the NARODNA ARMIJA commentary contains "several claims in which one can recognize the spreading of false information which results in disinclination toward the Slovene citizens among the Yugoslav public." "One gets the impression," Stadler said, "that the Slovenes in the SFRY are privileged before the law and that attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army continue to be launched in this republic." "It is not true, as this commentary claims, that the Initiative Committee for the protection of human rights criticizes military courts because they still apply Article 133 of the SFRY Criminal Code, and it is also not true that Article 133 of the SFRY Criminal Code is applied by all the courts with the exception of courts in Slovenia," Stadler claims. He cites a report by the Initiative Committee in connection with the case of Tomo Bogataj, supporting his claim by the information on the number

of criminal cases which were dealt with from 1978 to 1986 in Slovene military courts in connection with the violation of Article 133 of the SFRY criminal code.

It should be stressed that the report contains nothing but a suspicion that a criminal act had been commited, and that the decision on it would be passed by the Belgrade Prosecutor's Office. Depending on the assessment, the report is either rejected or criminal charges are brought.

Presidency Hails Iran-Iraq Cease-Fire Decision

LD2208115988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1307 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Aug (TANJUG)—The SFRY Presidency welcomes the decision of the Governments of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Republic of Iraq to accept a cease-fire and start direct negotiations on the consistent and integral realization of the UN Security Council Resolution 598, with the aim of reaching an all-embracing, just, and honest solution to the conflict.

The SFRY Presidency expresses conviction that the negotiations between the two nonaligned countries friendly with Yugoslavia will be crowned with success and that the tackling of controversial issues between the two countries will have a positive impact on the situation in the region and the overall developments in international relations.

The SFRY Presidency stresses the considerable contribution of the UN Security Council and the UN secretary general to efforts to end this conflict. This again reaffirms the role of the United Nations in eliminating hotbeds of crisis in the world, toward which aim Yugoslavia and other nonaligned countries have always been consistently striving.

Cargo Ship Receives Extortion Threat

LD2008200688 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1905 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] New York, August 20 (TANJUG)—The cargo ship Cast Polarbear, owned by the Yugoslav Atlantska Plovidba shippers of Dubrovnik, has received a radio message that it will be blown up unless a ransom of 800,000 dollars is paid. The ship, midway across the Atlantic Ocean en route from Antwerp, Belgium, to Canada is due in Montreal on August 24. The message was received when the freighter was about 1,000 miles off the coast of Canada.

The Cast Polarbear, registered in Liberia, was yesterday and today given two deadlines by which the payment should have been made, but both have passed without incident.

The Canadian Coast Guard, whose control centre in Newfoundland was the first to contact the Cast Polarbear, confirms that the ship has received a threat that it will be blown up, but gives no further details.

Units Sent To Secure Ship

LD2108201088 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1920 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Text] New York, August 21 (TANJUG)—Canadian Coast Guard authorities have decided to send a team of divers to search for magnetic mines on the bottom of the Yugoslav ship Cast Polarbear on which an unidentified caller said he had planted a bomb.

Canadian Coast Guard units are to intercept the Cast Polarbear off the coast of Newfoundland, near Cape St Mary's. The Cast Polarbear is expected to enter Canada's territorial waters at 0030 GMT. Divers from the Wilfred Greesla and the Canadian police will try to establish what is really going on on board the ship.

According to the latest messages radioed from the ship to the Canadian Coast Guard, the ship has a crew of 29 Yugoslav, Poles and Germans, with Yugoslav Captain Jaksa Margaretic.

The case of the Cast Polarbear will be investigated by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the elite unit of the Canadian police. Although it had originally been regarded as an attempt at intimidation, the threat is now taken seriously, as it is possible that it has been made by criminals or terrorists acting on board ship or off it.

Garcic Reiterates Support for Frontline States

LD2108103088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0922 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Excerpt] Lusaka, 21 Aug (Tanjug)—The LCY will strengthen and consolidate the traditionally good cooperation with Zambia. This was stated by Radisa Gacic, a member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at the Congress of the United Nations Independence Party of Zambia.

Having mentioned Zambia's enormous contribution to the abolition of colonialism and all forms of oppression and discrimination, and also to the struggle of the African peoples for free and independent development, Gacic stressed that nonaligned Yugoslavia will go on providing active political and material support for the liberation movements in southern Africa. [passage omitted]

Correction to Pristina LC on Rally

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Pristina LC Issues Appeal on Rally", published in 19 August East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 30:

column two, paragraph six, sentence two reads: ...assessments of the 87th session of the... (changing queried number 17 to 87)